Explaining Media-Centered Reporting Styles

An Internationally Comparative Typology and Explication of Election Campaign Coverage in TV Evening News

Thesis

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Abstract

This study investigates "soundbites" and "metacoverage" using content analysis of *TV evening news broadcasts* during national election campaigns. Combining these perspectives provides insights into *election campaign reporting styles*: While soundbite indicators are concerned with the *form* of news stories, metacoverage represents news *content*. Using an *internationally comparative sample* of Swiss, German, US, British, French and Italian elections, the analysis consists of three main steps: *Describing, classifying* and *explaining* reporting styles. These aims are completed using ANOVAs, correspondence analysis, cluster analysis and QCA. The *findings* indicate three distinct election campaign reporting styles: A non-interventionist, candidate-centered reporting style, an interventionist, journalist-centered reporting style and a further interventionist, campaign-centered reporting style. QCA is used to relate these election campaign reporting styles to contextual factors. Thus, the *contribution* of this dissertation is twofold: Firstly, the study shows how mixed methods can be applied for mutual benefit. Secondly, the identification and explanation of election campaign reporting styles contributes to the discussion on the relation between media and political actors.

Keywords: Mediatization, election campaign coverage, soundbites, metacoverage, reporting styles, international comparison, typology bulding, correspondence analysis, qualitative comparative analysis

Zusammenfassung

Diese Studie untersucht „Soundbites“ und „Metacoverage“ anhand einer *Inhaltsanalyse von TV-Abendnachrichten* während nationalen Wahlen. Die Kombination dieser Perspektiven bietet Erkenntnisse zu *„Reporting Styles“ in Wahlkämpfen*: Soundbite-Indikatoren beschreiben die *Form* von Nachrichtenbeiträgen, Metacoverage-Indikatoren decken *inhaltliche Aspekte* ab. Die Studie benutzt ein *international vergleichendes Sample* von Schweizer, Deutschen, US-Amerikanischen, Britischen, Französischen und Italienischen Wahlen und besteht aus drei Schritten: Der *Beschreibung, Klassifikation* und *Erklärung* von Reporting Styles. Für die Auswertung werden ANOVAs, Korrespondenzanalysen, Clusteranalysen und QCAs benutzt. Die *Ergebnisse* deuten auf drei distinkte Stile hin: einen nicht-interventionistischen, kandidatenzentrierten, einen inverventionistischen, journalistenzentrierten, sowie einen weiteren interventionistischen, aber kampagnenzentrierten Stil. Mit QCA werden diese Stile in Beziehung zu Kontextfaktoren gesetzt. Der *Beitrag* der Studie besteht somit aus zwei Aspekten: Die Studie zeigt, wie Mixed Methods zum gegenseitigen Vorteil angewendet werden können. Ferner trägt die Identifikation der Reporting Styles zur Diskussion über die Beziehung zwischen Medien und Politik bei.

Schlagwörter: Medialisierung, Wahlkampf-Berichterstattung, Metacoverage, Soundbites, Reporting Styles, Internationaler Vergleich, Typologisierung, Korrespondenzanalyse, Qualitative Comparative Analysis

Acknowledgment

All human achievement is social and dissertations are no exception: Not only does all research stand on the shoulders of giants, it is also shaped by the environment of researchers. Often, the input of friends, family and colleagues is crucial for a work to flourish and materialize.

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Chapter I

Introduction: Exploring Interventionist Reporting Styles

The nature of the relation between "the media" and political actors is a key question in social scientific research. The relevant literature suggests many theories and models describing the interdependencies and power structures between the two. They need each other for their core social roles: Covering political events, issues and actors for the former and reaching a broad audience for the latter. Media and political actors are thus *dependent on each other* – especially in times of election campaigns. On the one hand, journalists need the cooperation of political actors because they are important sources both for exclusive news and insights as well as commentary and opinion soundbites. On the other hand, as more and more aspects of modern societies can only be experienced through mass media, political actors need journalists to enhance their visibility as well as spread their ideas throughout society. Consequently, the relations between the two spheres and actors are intertwined and reciprocal.

The theory of *"mediatization"* describes in what way the (mass) media become more and more important in modern society. It is assumed that the

so-called "media logic" – the mass media's "mode of operation" – permeates aspects and spheres of society that have previously not experienced any "media influence". As the complexity of modern societies increases, the responsibility of the mass media in their role as a disseminator of crucial information expands, as well. Mass media are the most effective means to circumvent restrictions of time and space by spreading information across all societal spheres. However, as there is much more raw information that journalists can choose to produce stories from than there is space available in the mass media, all media content is selective in the sense that stories must be intentionally chosen to be published. There is a certain journalistic "filter" in place that selects some and neglects other information.

This selectivity is not "bad" or "immoral" per se, as such a pre-selection aids in separating the informational wheat from the chaff. However, with the role of the media as a provider of necessary information becoming more and more crucial and institutional media logic permeating every aspect of society, politicians and other actors tend to allocate many resources to attempting to bypass the "gate keepers" (Lewin, 1947; White, 1950) and give coverage about them a positive spin. However, journalists notice these attempts to undermine their professional role as commentators and analysts. They react in different ways, for example by cutting out a candidate and reporting few of his or her statements in the politicians' own words, instead reformulating them themselves. Another strategy might be to mention these attempts in the coverage and thus bring them up as a news topic itself – and thus "turn the spotlight inward" (Johnson & Boudreau, 1996). The former strategy concerns the form and structure of news, while the latter provides specific topics discussing this phenomenon itself. In political communication studies, such phenomena are subsumed as *journalistic interventionism*. Interventionism is understood as a reflection of the media logic (e.g., Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 35). This dissertation therefore investigates precisely these two aspects of form and content of

interventionist election campaign coverage. It does so by *combining two projects* analyzing the content of *TV evening news coverage during election campaigns:* The "soundbite" project (see Hallin, 1992; Esser, 2008) and the "metacoverage" project (see Esser & D'Angelo, 2003, 2006; D'Angelo et al., 2014; D'Angelo, 2008; D'Angelo & Esser, 2014). The basic research problem of the dissertation at hand is thus the question whether *election campaign reporting styles in TV news differ across countries with regard to the level of interventionism and how to explain such variance.*

The concept of *interventionism* is useful for a full understanding of how, and through what venues, media logic shapes news content and consequently creates incentives for political actors to adapt to this logic. It demonstrates how the third dimension of mediatization (Strömbäck, 2008) can be conceived and investigated (see Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, p. 219-220). Thus, it is relevant for the scientific and societal discussion about power structures in the media-politics relation (during election campaigns). The aim of the study is to provide a full account of *typical research goals* commonly found in comparative inquiries (see Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 10-11): I.e., to *describe*, *classify* and *explain* different patterns of journalistic reactions to political attempts to exert influence. It does so in three main analytical steps: Firstly, extensive descriptions of the two projects are presented (section IV.1, p. 103). Secondly, a typology of election campaign reporting styles is constructed and discussed in depth (section IV.2, p. 149). Thirdly, the identified reporting styles are explained by relating them to relevant contextual factors on country- and media levels (section IV.3, p. 181). To do so, a mixed methods approach is used, sequentially building up the analysis: The descriptive part mainly uses analyses of variance (ANOVA) to expand on similarities and differences between countries. For the exploratory part, a range of methods is applied: Correspondence- and cluster analyses are used to identify dimensions as well as models of a reporting style typology. Factor analysis is also calculated to cross-validate the classification. Finally,

the explanatory step applies Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to explain the co-occurrence of election campaign reporting styles and contextual factors. With two TV channels analyzed in six countries, the sample is typical for comparative studies (e.g., Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 13-15; Vliegenthart, 2012, p. 492): A middle-N sample ($N = 14$), too large for detailed qualitative case studies tracing every aspect of a phenomenon, but too small for strict quantitative methods such as multilevel regressions. The methods applied in this study turn this issue into an advantage by combining variable-oriented analyses with case-oriented interpretations.

Consequently, the *contribution* of this dissertation is two-fold: (1) It substantially adds to the debate on the dynamics between media and the political sphere by providing a classification and explanation of interventionist election campaign reporting styles. The analysis details these insights in three consecutive steps: A descriptive part helps to grasp the phenomenon and sample at hand, while the exploratory classification results in an empirical election campaign typology of different types of journalistic (non-)interventionism. Finally, the explanatory step identifies typical patterns of contextual factors that correspond to the different typology models. (2) The study also contributes to the discussion on methodology by showing how key aims of comparative research – description, exploratory classification and explanation (cf. Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 10-11) – can be tackled comprehensively with an unique combination of methods, even if sample sizes are rather unfavorable. There are three main points to this methodological contribution: Firstly, the combination of correspondence- and cluster analysis shows that aggregated nominal data can be processed in a meaningful way with these two steps, identifying dimensions as well as models of typologies (including the construction of empirically derived scales for both dimensions as well as typology models). The combination of these two exploratory steps allows a case-oriented interpretation of typical- as well as borderline (or hybrid) and extreme cases of each type. Secondly, a

cross-validation of the correspondence analysis using factor analysis provides a further account of the robustness of the analysis. It also allows the differences between the two methods and the respective advantages and disadvantages to be highlighted. Thirdly, QCA is applied to convincingly relate the empirical typology to key contextual factors. All three steps combine variable-oriented analysis with case-oriented interpretation, showing distinctly how typical middle-N samples (about 10 to 50 cases) can be tackled reasonably (instead of complicating case studies or oversimplifying quantitative analyses).

This report at hand proceeds in several *main chapters*: Following this *introduction*, a *theory* chapter (chapter II, p. 7) explains the main analytical basis of the study. It does so in several steps: Firstly, an overview of the discussion of the mediatization of politics is provided, including information on accompanying processes such as commercialization, professionalization and interventionism (sections II.1 and II.2, p. 8 and p. 19). Furthermore, contextual factors situated at the levels of the media system and the campaign environment that shape the way mediatization unfolds are deduced (section II.3, p. 28). A further section details the two empirical projects combined in the study (soundbites and metacoverage) and how they can and why they should be combined (section II.4, p. 33). Finally, the less abstract phenomenon of election campaigns is tackled by developing a general model of campaign communication by political actors and campaign coverage by the media (section II.5, p. 47). This section also summarizes the theory, provides normative evaluations of possible outcomes and details the research questions and hypotheses. The next chapter describes the key *methodological parameters* (chapter III, p. 63). It does so in three sections: Firstly, section III.1 (p. 63) explains the measurement of reporting style indicators using content analysis of TV evening news broadcasts and the measurement of the explanatory system-level contextual factors. Secondly, details of the sampling process as well as content analysis procedures are given in

section III.2 (p. 83). Finally, the methodology of the analysis is detailed in a section dedicated to the design of the analysis (section III.3, p. 93). After that, the *analysis* of the data is presented (chapter IV, p. 93). As mentioned, it proceeds in three main steps: Section IV.1 (p. 103) provides a description and comparison of the relevant election campaigns. Secondly, the empirical election campaign reporting style typology is built up (section IV.2, p. 149). Finally, the typology is related to contextual factors in the third analytical section (section IV.3, p. 181). The results and key insights are then wrapped up in the *conclusion* (chapter V, p. 201), providing a comprehensive account of the whole study with a summary of the results, highlighting some inherent limitations, a synopsis of the key contributions and finally an outlook for future research and normative implications. Lastly, after the list of references, the *appendix* lists the acronyms and nomenclature used (section A, p. 240), documents the data processing (section B, p. 244; data cleansing and organization in subsection B.1, p. 245 and calculations in subsection B.2, p. 259), shows the coding sheets of both content analysis projects (section C, p. 330) and briefly explains the contents and structure of the digital appendix (section D, p. 332).

Chapter II

Theory: Mediatization and Interventionism

"Mediatization", understood as the increasing influence of "media logic" over virtually all aspects and spheres of modern society, constitutes the main theoretical umbrella for the dissertation at hand. It is a macro-level theory comprising a wide range of assumptions and theses about the inner workings of the (mass) media and their (growing) significance for society. The "media logic", the "mode of operation" of the media, is closely related to commercialization, professionalization and journalistic interventionism. These processes drive and reflect mediatization, resulting in reciprocal feedback paths of interdependent influences. Depending on the contextual settings, various facets of mediatization might be reinforced or diminished – for example, the amount of economic liberalism encountered in a given media system is related to degree that commercialization affects media content. In the following theory chapter, the theoretical basis for the study at hand is spelled out, paying attention to reciprocal influences, accompanying societal developments, crucial contextual settings and specific empirical indicators. The chapter is concluded with a section that develops a general model of campaign communication and coverage, summarizes the theoretical assumptions and deduces research questions and hypotheses.

II.1 Mediatization: A Theoretical Umbrella

As mentioned above, the first main section in the theory chapter describes the processes of mediatization and related concepts. The concepts are firstly defined and specified at an abstract level. In that sense, the theory chapter progresses from rather abstract to more concrete matters in the relation between political actors and news media. Firstly, a small subsection is dedicated to general definitions and differentiations of the concept of mediatization (section II.1.1, p. 8), a theory that has gained much attention since the turn of the century (e.g., Strömbäck & Esser, 2014a, p. 245). A second subsection deals with the mediatization of politics (section II.1.2, p. 11). Thirdly, the crucial aspects of the media and political logic are spelled out in a further subsection (section II.1.3, p. 12). And finally, in preparation of the next chapter on commercialization, professionalization and interventionism, a further analytical angle called "reflexive mediatization" is introduced (section II.1.4, p. 17).

II.1.1 A Metaprocess of Social Change

Firstly, a very general definition of the concept is necessary. Mediatization must be seen as a *meta-process of social change* (e.g., Krotz, 2001, 2005, 2007a,b, 2009; Strömbäck & Esser, 2014b, p. 4) that occurs alongside and encompasses other meta-processes of social change such as globalization, enlightenment, individualization or industrialization (e.g., Krotz, 2007a, p. 12, 15, 26-30). They are conceived as "meta-processes" of social change in the sense that they are not merely simple processes of short-term social change, but rather developments that last dozens of years, sometimes even centuries. Thus, they are not restrained to geographical areas or cultural spheres, but are rather universal developments in capitalist, Western democracies. Rather than representing actual, empirical phenomena of social change themselves, the meta-processes can describe and explain concrete

social change of a smaller scope (cf. Krotz, 2007b, p. 257). Furthermore, meta-processes of social change are non-linear developments without clearly defined directions or boundaries. Consequently, they are not teleological developments and should not be judged a priori in a normative sense (see Esser, 2013, p. 159): Positive as well as (unintended) negative effects are possible, as Horkheimer and Adorno have impressively shown for enlightenment (see Horkheimer & Adorno, 1969; Krotz, 2005, p. 20-21). Thus, normative assessments must dialectically identify the "two sides of the coin" of possible mediatization outcomes: Change can have positive as well as negative characteristics and facets.

Hjarvard (2008b, p. 113) provides some defining factors for mediatization: The mass media have become independent social institutions and their presence and logic is "integrated" into the operations of other social institutions. In other words, the mass media's "mode of operation" is a crucial consideration in the actions of other social institutions. For example, social actors such as politicians might tailor their messages according to this "media logic" in order to increase their chances of bypassing the "gate keepers" (Lewin, 1947; White, 1950) and getting their message into the public domain. Of course, this holds true for other social actors such as scientists, economic actors, athletes, etc. This aspect of *media logic* is discussed in further detail in subsection II.1.3 (p. 12). Similarly, Mazzoleni (2008b, p. 3053) focuses on the increasing influence of media into "all spheres of society and social life". In other words, he argues that a modern life without modern mass media is unimaginable. Schulz (2004, p. 88-90) provides further details here and identifies *extension, substitution, amalgamation* and *accomodation* as media-driven transformations that demonstrate in what ways the media's influence is growing: Mass media primarily *extend* basic human capabilities of communication, a factor clearly alluding to McLuhan (1964). It refers to the fact that mass media can transcend the traditional restrictions of time and space: It is not absolutely necessary to

meet physically in order to be able to communicate. Consequently, mass media also *substitute* social activities by nullifying the need for physical face-to-face interaction. Accordingly, they change the character of these social activities. Non-media activities are subsequently merged and mixed with media activities, creating an *amalgamation* between the two types of activities and blurring the boundaries between them. Finally, the aspect of "media logic" is expressed by *accomodation*: Social actors might adapt a priori to the "mode of operation" of mass media in order to increase their visibility. For example, politicians might try to tailor their press releases strictly following the needs and wishes of the media in order to increase their chances of having such press releases published. The common denominator for all these definitions is the fact that the influence of media on other spheres of society increases over time.[1]

With regards to the theoretical *scope* of mediatization, scholars apply the concept to a wide range of social spheres (e.g., Lundby, 2009, p. 4, 6-7). The dissertation at hand is dedicated to the mediatization of politics, but the theory is by no means restricted to the political sphere. For example, Hjarvard (2008a) discusses how mediatization effects religion and religious practices. Cottle (2006) and McQuail (2006) consider the mediatization of conflict and war. Many further studies use the concept to discuss media-related changes in areas such as economy (Imhof, 2006a; Eisenegger, 2005), science (Schäfer, 2008), culture (Hepp, 2009; Thompson, 1995), subcultures (Encheva et al., 2013), and so on. Clearly, mediatization is an integrative concept. For the purpose of using the mediatization concept as an analytical framework for the relation between political actors and the media during election campaigns, the mediatization of politics is key.

[1] Note, however, that mediatization should under no circumstances be equated with simple *media effects* (see Strömbäck & Esser, 2014b, p. 10-11). Mediatization does not imply a strict causal logic as most media effect theories do. It is difficult to treat the media as an exogenous, independent factor. Mediatization also does not only assume effects of media *content*, but also effects resulting from the *mere presence of (specific) media and their technological features*. Finally, mediatization takes reciprocal feedback loops into account, while media effect theories mostly do not. In other words, the levels of analysis and degrees of abstraction are different in the theories of mediatization and media effects.

II.1.2 The Mediatization of Politics

Consequently, the *mediatization of politics* is clarified in further detail. Most researchers make an initial distinction between mediatization and the concept of *mediation* (for example, see Nimmo & Combs, 1983; Bennett & Entman, 2001; Mazzoleni, 2008a; Strömbäck & Esser, 2014b, p. 4-5). Mediation in its simplest sense refers to a setting in which the (mass-)media have become the most important source of information between relevant actors, such as voters and political candidates (cf. Strömbäck, 2008, p. 230). These actors are dependent on the media in order to *mediate* between each of them (e.g., Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, p. 208). For example, as far as the mediatization *of politics* is concerned, the two main actors are the rulers and the ruled. In this sense, mediation is a *precondition* of mediatization. *Mediatization*, on the other hand, is a dynamic concept which extends beyond the simple fact that most information is transmitted via media. While mediation represents a static situation, mediatization is a process-oriented concept that focuses on the intrusion of media influence into other spheres of society (e.g., Esser, 2013, p. 157-158).

Based on this differentiation, Strömbäck (2008) defines mediation as the first phase in his famous article about the *four phases of mediatization* (see Strömbäck, 2008, p. 234, 236). Building on the previously available theoretical work, he further specifies the mediatization of politics by identifying four successive *dimensions* (and analogous *phases*) of mediatization (for an overview, see Strömbäck, 2008, p. 235). The first dimension states that the mass media are the main source of information for the citizens rather than personal experiences or interpersonal communication (i.e., a state of mediation). Secondly, the media are largely independent of the political institutions (as opposed to being dependent on them). Thirdly, the journalistic production of media content is governed mainly by the so-called media logic (vs. the political logic). And the fourth dimension holds that political actors anticipate the media logic (rather than political

logic) and thus orient their activities accordingly. Analogous to the four dimensions, Strömbäck (2008) argues that mediatization advances in four phases, with each phase being reached as the respective dimension is existent (see Strömbäck, 2008, p. 235-241).

II.1.3 Media and Political Logic

The so-called "media logic" and "political logic" have been mentioned a few times now. Accordingly, these concepts are defined and explained in the following subsection. Both "logics" comprise three subdimensions that further specify critical aspects. Generally, media logic reflects rules, habits and institutions related to mediatized actors, while the political logic represents the absence of mediatization. In the following subsections, necessary specifications and explanations further detail the media- and political logic (see Esser & Strömbäck, 2014, p. 234).

II.1.3.1 Media Logic

Let us first examine *media logic*. Generally, media logic constitutes the "mode of operation" of modern journalism. The term was first introduced by Altheide & Snow (1979) who describe it as a specific "form of communication", consisting of the way information is organized and presented (see Altheide & Snow, 1979, p. 10).[2] This definition has prompted much criticism for being too vague, universal and linear (for an overview of various critics, see Strömbäck & Esser, 2014b, p. 17). However, the criticism has mostly failed to deliver a more detailed and precise definition (e.g., Landerer, 2013, p. 242-245). In response, Esser (2013, p. 166-174) proposes a definition specifying three subdimensions of media logic: Professional, economic and technical. The professional and economic aspects can be directly linked to the processes of commercialization and professionalization, while the

[2] The two authors further elaborate on the concept in later publications (see Altheide & Snow, 1991, 1988).

technical aspect can be considered a complementary aspect narrowing down the (technical) possibilities of a given media type (e.g., print vs. audiovisual media types). Each of the three aspects specifies certain parts of the overall rules, habits, institutions and restrictions that shape the form, style and content of news media products.[3]

Professional Dimension Firstly, journalists sculpt media content according to certain journalistic standards. Esser (2013, p. 168) follows the definition of Hallin & Mancini (2004, p. 34-37) who specify *autonomy of journalists, distinct professional norms* and a certain *public-service orientation* as the main ingredients of journalistic professionalism. In addition, Esser (2013, p. 169) complements the definition with a further angle taken from Zaller (1999): The concept of *journalistic voice*. This concept is crucial for this dissertation, as is discussed in further detail in sections II.5.1 and particularly II.4 (p. 48 and 33). "Journalistic voice" also refers to aspects of journalistic autonomy, but rather than focusing on the influences within or outside the media organizations, it focuses on the approaches and attitudes of the journalists. Journalists want to add something of their own to their coverage: It is not satisfactory for them to simply transmit someone else's messages. Rather, they want to enrich their journalistic products with critical analysis, interpretation and their own wording (Esser, 2013, p. 169). In other words, they want to demonstrate a certain professional proximity to the political actors to prove their autonomy – and thus their professionalism.

Economic Dimension Furthermore, the economic dimension is a direct result of the process of commercialization. Simply put, the commercial aspects of media logic highlight the fact that modern mass media are (often)

[3] All three aspects are related and influenced to some degree by *news values* (Lippmann, 1922; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Schulz, 1976) that shape what is selected for mediation and what is "kept" at the "gates" (Lewin, 1947; White, 1950) and not passed on. In that sense, news values are pre-conditions for selecting (and presenting) news, while mediatization describes how the actual coverage influences other social spheres (i.e., mediatization is a reciprocal process taking place after the news values).

capitalist products that are created with the intention of making monetary profit. Such profit is gained by enlarging the audience of a media product. Consequently, what is thought to raise the attention of the people is reported (also see footnote 3, p. 13). This facet is driven by the historical process of commercialization and its impact; while professionalism denotes the new *independence* of the media, commercialism signifies the new *dependency* of the media on the market and advertisers. Esser (2013, p. 171-172) mentions consequences of this economic orientation for media content such as "dramatization", "infotainment", "personalization" and "depoliticization".

Technological Dimension Finally, media content is heavily determined by the technical possibilities of a given media type (e.g., Esser, 2013, p. 173). Strömbäck & Esser (2014b, p. 18) point out that this is the part of the definition by Esser (2013) that comes closest to the thoughts of Altheide & Snow (1979), focusing on the specifics of media format and style. Different types of media allow for different modes of presentation: A newspaper allows and demands styles other than those found in audiovisual media types such as TV. Thus, there are certain patterns of coverage that can be traced back to the type of medium. Journalists are expected to take advantage of these technical possibilities and to form their products accordingly: For example, modern TV news is rarely stories just read aloud by a TV moderator; usually, they are complemented with symbolic and illustrative pictures. This is due to the technical availability of audivisual material within TV and there is an expectation that journalists take advantage of these possibilities.

Taken together, these three aspects represent many of the conditions that shape modern news contents. As has been mentioned (cf. footnote 3), there is a certain affinity to the concept of "news values" or "newsworthiness" (Lippmann, 1922; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Schulz, 1976; Maier et al., 2010). *News values* are pre-conditions for the selection of news, while mediatization is an effect of the media institution. Thus, aspects of news values permeate

all three dimensions of media logic: For example, "geographic proximity" as a classical news value is featured in both the professional dimension ("an event happening nearby is more crucial than remote events"), as well as the economic dimension ("an event happening nearby is more interesting for the readers and will thus sell better"). To a certain degree, proximity even influences the technical dimension: Viewers might expect to see current, original and up-to-date images of events that happen nearby, while they may excuse the use of symbolic or library images in news stories about events happening far away. In that sense, media logic and news values are interdependent and reciprocal concepts feeding on each other, but not representing exactly the same thing: News values are features of news content (e.g., events), while the media logic is an institutional feature of media systems, organizations, news rooms and even individual journalists. In other words, media logic is a property of the communicators, while news values are properties of the communicated content. Both concepts are not universal and static, but are rather characteristics of real, capitalist, Western democracies.

II.1.3.2 Political Logic

The political logic can be similarly specified. Modern political science often distinguishes three unique aspects of "the political": *Politics, policy* and *polity*. For the purpose of mediatization research, the political logic is also defined along these three subdimensions (e.g., Meyer, 2002; Esser, 2013, p. 164-165). It is assumed that different activities of political actors can be subsumed using these three overarching categories (e.g., Landerer, 2013, p. 245-247). Simply put, they refer to the "production" (policy), "(self-)presentation" (politics) and "system" (polity) of political matters. Of course, these are characteristics of political actions and events rather than features of the media; thus, political logic *with regard to media content and its production* means that journalists weight their articles according

to the political logic. For example, journalists following the political logic grant a lot of space to sophisticated policy presentations by parties or the explanation of the electoral system (a polity aspect). Basically, journalists would report according to the wishes of politicians and rank topics just as political actors themselves would. The three subdimensions can be further explained in order to clarify this idea.

Policy Firstly, policy is concerned with the "production" of political matters as they pass through the stages of the political process such as policy making and policy implementation (e.g., Esser, 2013, p. 164). It is a dimension mainly concerned with issues, problems and solutions – or, in other words, policy refers to political *content* or, on a more abstract level, political *viewpoints and ideologies*.

Politics Secondly, politics refers to "self-presentational" aspects of political matters. Often, these are electoral processes in which politicians and parties must present themselves to the voters in order to gain office (e.g., Esser, 2013, p. 165). Mostly, this term references institutionalized *processes* in the political system that disseminate political power (elections).

Polity Finally, polity refers to the aspects of "political structures". In essence, these structures determine what politicians can and cannot do in a given institution (e.g., Esser, 2013, p. 165). For example, the type of election system (majority vs. proportional election) has a crucial impact on how campaigns are waged (and covered by journalists). In other words, polity represents a given *political system*.

Of course, as has been demonstrated for the media logic and its subdimensions, the policy, politics and polity aspects overlap and cannot be viewed in isolation – they are analytical distinctions. For example, processes of "politics" such as general elections are not issue-less ("policy") and they also depend on political structures ("polity"). Furthermore, analogous to

the explanations of the relation between the media logic and news values, there are aspects of political programs which overlay the political logic with *policy considerations* regarding certain political issues and stances. These "policy considerations" are strongly linked to political agenda-setting and agenda-building (for an elaboration on relations between mediatization and agenda-setting, see van Aelst et al., 2014). Agenda-setting and consequently the question of how hierarchies between political issues are created and perpetuated is a topic receiving a great deal of attention both in political science (for early approaches, see Schattschneider, 1960; Cobb & Elder, 1972) and media science (e.g., Dearing & Rogers, 1996). As with news values, these policy considerations are features of political problems (respectively solutions), while political logic (as with media logic) is a characteristic of political actors. Again, the political logic is a feature of a (political) communicator, while policy considerations – similar to news values – are properties of the communicated content (the political issue and a proposed solution). In effect, policy considerations create a hierarchy among political issues just as news values do for potential news events, and guide parties in their allocation of resources to certain problems. For example, if a party considers migration to be a pressing issue, they might focus on it in their campaign. Analogous to news values, a list can be created of policy features which increase or decrease the (perceived) significance of certain political issues, containing factors such as high economic cost of the problem, relevance of the issue for the ideological party family (e.g., labor policies for leftwing parties), polling results on an issue, media coverage about an issue, and so on. Obviously, these policy considerations vary notably across parties, countries and time.

II.1.4 Reflexive Mediatization

As has been implied, commercialization and professionalization are drivers of mediatization (and particularly the media logic). However, these processes

are not only changing media institutions: They also affect the political sphere. Just as with media institutions, political institutions are affected by the two processes (e.g., Norris, 2000; Farrell & Webb, 2000). Tenscher et al. (2012, p. 147-148) identify three substantial transformations that political parties have undergone: Firstly (1), "electoralization", representing the efforts to address the needs of voters and the focus on campaigning (e.g., Lilleker & Lees-Marshment, 2005); secondly (2), mediatization; and thirdly (3), *professionalization* (e.g., Tenscher et al., 2012, 2011; Negrine, 2008; Negrine et al., 2007; Louw, 2005; Holtz-Bacha, 2002). In this sense, the adoption of classical marketing and PR techniques (using opinion polls and market research, micro-targeting, employing communication professionals, etc.) for electoral aims (e.g., Tenscher, 2004; Gibson & Römmele, 2001, p. 33) is the equivalent process of *commercialization* within the political party sphere (see Schulz, 2011, p. 247); the expansion of structural, personal, financial and long-term resources (e.g., Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999, p. 213-214) aimed at a permanent campaign (e.g., de Vreese, 2009, p. 8-9) corresponds to the *professionalization* of journalism. As such, the transformations taking place in the media and political spheres are simultaneous and intertwined, resulting in reciprocal relationships of anticipated and reinforced media logics: A *"spiral of mediatization"* (Asp, 1986, p. 361).

Let us consider the momentum of this "spiral": To do so, a further analytical angle called "reflexive mediatization" or "self-mediatization" (cf. Marcinkowski & Steiner, 2014; Blumler, 2014; Esser & Strömbäck, 2014, p. 230) must be introduced. In this dissertation, *reflexive mediatization* is understood as the anticipatory effects of the media logic on political actors: In order to be able to pass the gates of journalistic filters, politicians might try to adapt to the media logic a priori. For example, they frame their topics in controversial ways, strategically time press releases, allocate financial and personal resources to hire spin doctors and advertising agencies, and so on. Basically, they try to write their messages in a way

that corresponds to the media logic and thus the needs of media actors. Journalists, however, react to such communication offensives by political actors: To demonstrate their professional proximity and critical distance to the political sphere (e.g., Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999, p. 215), they might be even more tempted to apply the principles of media logic and react by covering these events in highly media-centered reporting styles (e.g., Esser & Strömbäck, 2012a, p. 291; Esser & Strömbäck, 2012b, p. 310). These reinforcing processes pose a threat of depoliticizing campaign coverage (e.g., Esser & Strömbäck, 2012b, p. 318). This crucial aspect of mediatization directly corresponds to *journalistic interventionism*, which is defined as a reflection of media logic (cf. Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 35).

II.2 Commercialization, Professionalization and Interventionism

As mentioned, mediatization and the media logic are highly related to commercialization, professionalization and interventionism in the sense that the latter are *drivers* of mediatization. *Commercialization* and *professionalization* are processes accompanying mediatization. They apply to both the mass media themselves and the social spheres that are increasingly intertwined with the institutional logics of the mass media (such as politics, economics, sports, science, education, etc.). In the following, the historical evolution of commercialism and professionalism are discussed shortly (subsection II.2.1, p. 20) first. Building on that, the concept of *journalistic interventionism* is properly defined and related to mediatization, commercialization and professionalization (subsection II.2.2, p. 23).

II.2.1 A Historical Perspective

There are three main sources or *drivers* of mediatization (that are processes of social change as well): Commercialization, professionalization and technical developments. Mediatization encompasses these processes and is shaped by them in turn. The differentiation of the"media logic" also directly correlates to these dimensions. In the following, a brief historical digression highlights the development of commercialism and professionalism in (political) journalism; such a perspective can point out how these three "sub-processes" of social change are themselves highly interconnected.

McChesney (2008, p. 26) shows that standard aspects of professional journalism such as non-partisanship, neutrality, objectivity and critical attitudes towards the powers that be are relatively recent and were unthinkable for much of the history of the (US) press. Only in the 20$^{\text{th}}$ century did these notions emerge, and not without cause. Before, newspapers were highly partisan, often owned or closely linked to political parties. They were used in order to mobilize popular support and spread political ideas (McChesney, 2008, p. 26-27). The background for a change to more neutral coverage was a deep (economic) crisis for the "party press": Driven by an economically concentrated press system, it was no longer economically viable to remain partisan and thus alienate much of the potential readership (see McChesney, 2008, p. 28). While professionalism and objectivity might be jeopardized today by economic imperatives, it was also economic reasons that led to their foundation in the first place. Granting autonomy to individual journalists and withdrawing the dictate of clear partisan views was a means for the publishers to increase their newspapers' credibility (McChesney, 2008, p. 38). The two processes thus must be viewed as the two sides of a coin.[4]

[4] This basic paradox of Western, capitalist journalism has an impact on many aspects of journalism. As will be explained shortly in this theory chapter, the dimensions of mediatization that further clarify the concept of mediatization directly refer to these processes. But the principle of objectivity and balance by whatever means can have negative effects. For example, Engesser & Brüggemann (2016) convincingly explain how such a "false" balance can distort an actually existing consensus in the discussion of climate change.

In Europe, a further commercialization process (beginning by the end of the 20th century) is crucial: In most European countries, broadcasting was restricted to public, sometimes state-owned enterprises during much of the period from the introduction of broadcasting technology up to the late 20th century (e.g., Schade, 2005, p. 62). Besides technical reasons (such as the simple fact that broadcasting frequencies must be distributed to broadcasters), the aim was to create a public service medium dedicated to the enlightenment and education of the public (Schade, 2005, p. 63-64). However, this system of public television changes starts to change around the 1980s (see Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 72), when most European media systems abolish the public service broadcasting monopolies. This starts the transition to a dual broadcasting system with both public and private radio and TV channels (e.g., Esser et al., 2012, p. 251). Similar to Habermas (1962/1990), this process is often called the "second structural change" in these media systems (e.g., Imhof, 2006b). It is a further step towards a commercialized media system, pushing the broadcasting system towards private ownership that consolidates the production of media content for economic goals and accelerates the degree of commercialism (see Meier & Jarren, 2001; Schade, 2005, p. 66). However, the public service broadcasters that already existed often enjoy a good reputation: For example, the British BBC was a "role model" for many countries in their own broadcasting policies (e.g., Schade, 2005, p. 63-64). Consequently, the good standing of public service oriented TV channels might also influence the patterns of reporting found in private counterparts. In other words: Professionalism (this time the public service aspect rather than objectivity) and commercialization once again go hand in hand and develop at the same time.

While the precise definition of *professionalism* is vague and subject to a great deal of debate, some dimensions are crucial to the concept (cf. Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 34-37): Autonomy of journalists (from influences inside and outside the newsroom), distinct professional norms that are universally

agreed upon among peers (such as news values and political neutrality) and the public service orientation mentioned above. However, while journalists gain autonomy from politics when the print system transitions from mostly party press papers to independent newspapers, they also become increasingly dependent on economic factors, since the main aim of the party press is not economic profit, but to spread ideology (e.g., Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 273-274). As McChesney (2008) shows for the US print system, the "drivers" of journalistic professionalism in Europe are frequently economic pressure and profit considerations (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 274-275). In summarizing the reinforcing aspects of commercialization and professionalization, it can be stated that the (print) media have gained autonomy from their former shareholders such as the church and political actors, while at the same time building up new dependencies on the market and economic profitability (e.g., Meier & Jarren, 2001; Imhof, 2006b; Udris & Lucht, 2014). Professionalization in the sense it is understood today in the Western, democratic and capitalist world thus goes hand in hand with commercialization.

Professionalism and commercialization are crucial multipliers of mediatization in this historical process: They help to constitute the mass media as an autonomous social institution that is no longer just the appendage of former owners, such as political and religious organizations. Professionalism helps both to boost the credibility as well as to broaden the potential readership of media products, as an ideological "catch-all" approach is accessible to more people than apparently biased media.[5] It is therefore not surprising that the main dimensions of mediatization can be explained along these lines as well. The "mode of operation" that professionalized and commercialized modern media show is usually called the "media logic". A distinction is made between this term and "political logic" (e.g., Strömbäck

[5] Note, however, that nowadays there might be a shift towards more opinionated formats again. Often, such shifts happen for economic reasons as well, as the traditional "catch-all" attitude of many commercial news products lacks characteristic contours that readers might value.

& Esser, 2014b, p. 13-22). Journalistic reporting can follow either of these two logics: In their most general sense, the two logics refer to the rules and standards that are found "appropriate" and "natural" in the two institutional systems of media and politics (see Strömbäck & Esser, 2014b, p. 14). Thus, reporting styles following the media logic might be guided by factors such as newsworthiness, while journalism oriented towards a political logic may be interested in explaining all details of a political decision-making process, no matter whether it is newsworthy or not. The degree to which reporting is guided either by the media or the political logic is a core question of mediatization research (cf. Esser, 2013, p. 174).

II.2.2 Interventionism as a Reflection of Media Logic

While commercialization and professionalization are the drivers of media logic (via the economic and professional subdimensions), aspects of *journalistic interventionism* directly *reflect* the media logic (cf. Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 35). Features of media content that *follow from media logic* (opposed to political logic) may thus be conceptualized as indicators of media interventionism (Esser & Strömbäck, 2012b, p. 318). Accordingly, with regard to the dimensionality of mediatization (Strömbäck, 2008), journalistic interventionism corresponds to the *third (and indirectly fourth) dimension* (see Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, p. 217). In other words, indicators showing that the *content* of media is governed mainly by media logic (rather than political logic) are proxies for journalistic interventionism. Accordingly, indicators for aspects of the political logic are reflections of non-interventionism.

Figure II.1 (p. 24) summarizes these relations. Firstly, commercialization and professionalization show an inverse relation to each other: While professionalization expresses the media's independence from political institutions, commercialization demonstrates the new dependence on the market and its own logics. Accordingly, they are the two sides of a coin and affect

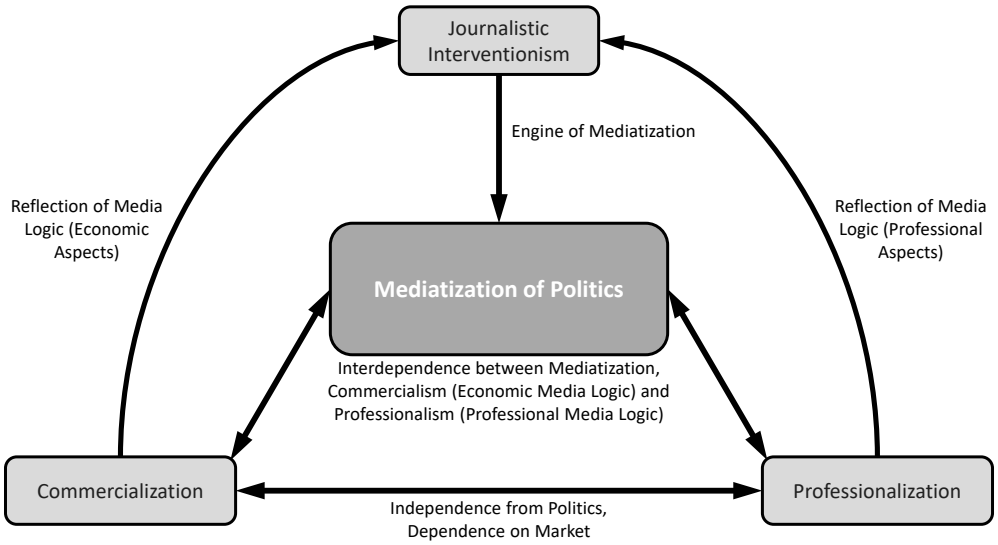


Figure II.1: Mediatization, Commercialism, Professionalism and Interventionism

each other reciprocally. Secondly, the interdependent relation between commercialization and professionalization that drive mediatization is shown. Commercialization fosters the economic subdimension of media logic, while professionalization boosts the professional subdimension. Mediatization in turn influences the patterns of commercialization and professionalization: The more strictly the rules of media logic govern journalism, the higher the incentives to further enhance commercial and professional aspects. Finally, journalistic interventionism reflects media logic, and in particular the commercial and professional aspects. In that sense, interventionism reflects the patterns of commercialization (economic subdimension of media logic) and professionalization (professional subdimension of media logic) at any given time. And journalistic interventionism itself then reciprocally influences mediatization again. In that sense, interventionism is the *engine* of the mediatization of politics (see Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, p. 219).

Furthermore, mediatization and interventionism are closely linked to so-called "reporting styles" (e.g., Hanitzsch, 2007, p. 372-374). Broadly speaking, media-centered reporting styles are "guided by media logic rather than political logic" (Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, p. 220). In that sense, they

firstly represent mediatized coverage (as opposed to neutral mediation), with interventionism functioning as indicator for such styles. The literature about reporting styles understands *interventionism* as the amount of journalistic involvement in the coverage: Whether journalists are passive and dedicated to impartiality (non-interventionist), or socially committed and dedicated to an assertive role (see Hanitzsch, 2007, p. 372-373). It is thus a perception of the journalistic role that is shaped by various contextual factors (Hanitzsch et al., 2016), but is also suited to content analysis: With regard to mediatization, Strömbäck & Esser (2009, p. 217) define "interventionism" as a form of media-centered reporting style in which journalists become the main "newsmakers" that select and shape stories and frames (also see Davis, 1990; Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995, p. 86-96). High interventionism thus corresponds to a "pragmatic" reporting styles, as opposed to non-interventionist "sacerdotal" styles (Semetko et al., 1991; Esser, 2008, p. 403). In election campaigns, for example, journalists are consequently considered interventionist if they use their own words and frames to present the political candidates and parties, rather than using quotes and citations by the politicians themselves. In other words, they grant the politicians only limited opportunities to present themselves (Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, p. 217).

Table II.1 (p. 26) further specifies the relation between interventionism and the subdimensions of media and political logic: Interventionism (and non-interventionism) fulfills a *function* with regard to each subdimension of media logic (economic, professional and technical subdimension) and political logic (policy, polity and politics). That means that specific aspects of journalistic (non-)interventionism are applied by the media to fulfill the specific subdimensional logics. Let us first discuss the subdimensions of media logic: Firstly, the economic subdimension marks efforts by media organizations to produce news that sell well, which is indicated by the attention a specific product receives (from the audience and consecutively the ad

Mediatization Logic	**Media Logic (Interventionism Indicators)**			**Political Logic (Non-Interventionism Indicators)**		
Dimension	**Economic**	**Professional**	**Technical**	**Policy**	**Polity**	**Politics**
Function of (Non-) Interventionism	Raise Attention (of Audience)	Demonstrate Independence (vis-à-vis Political Actors)	Create Visually Interesting Stories; Visual Self-References	Neutrally Report on Political Positions of Candidates	Inform about Political and Voting System	Impartially Showcase the Self-Presentational Efforts of Candidates
Degree of Interventionism		High		None		Medium

Table II.1: The Relation between Mediatization and Interventionism

industry). Accordingly, interventionism serves the function of *raising attention*. For example, journalists might intervene by discussing the personality and character of an election campaign candidate or the standings in the polls rather than relevant political issues. Secondly, the professional subdimension of media logic indicates all efforts of journalists to produce a *high quality product* with great credibility. Regarding this subdimension, journalists use interventionism to demonstrate their independence (vis-à-vis political actors and institutions) and show their profound expertise. Journalists can do this, for example, by talking about relevant issues and processes in their own words, with their own framing and their own assessment rather than using quotes by politicians – in other words, politicians are granted only limited opportunities for their self-presentational efforts (e.g., Esser, 2008, p. 403). Finally, interventionism can fulfill subtle functions with regard to the technical aspects of media logic – generally for TV, the function is to create *visually interesting stories*. For example, media organizations might subtly apply specific visual presentations and cross-references to other products to demonstrate the magnitude of journalistic work that has been done on a subject – in TV coverage, links to further online stories and social media accounts are a prominent example of such subtle visualizations. But also simply showing the mere presence of journalists and camera operators at any event can demonstrate the seriousness and dedication of the journalistic profession.

The same deductions can be drawn with regard to the subdimensions of political logic, but obviously they indicate non-interventionism (i.e., the absence of interventionism). Firstly, the policy dimension indicates any features of media coverage that are dedicated to political issues and solutions. Accordingly, the function of journalistic non-interventionism is to *neutrally portray these issues* and present the solutions that specific parties and candidates would like to implement (without adding journalistic comments and evaluations). For example, it is an indicator for the absence

of interventionism if politicians talking about issues are quoted often and for extensive periods in TV. Similarly, if the PR efforts of candidates to highlight specific issues are merely transmitted through the media (e.g., by simply rerunning such ads without commenting on them), the journalists express a rather "sacerdotal" and non-interventionist reporting style (e.g., Semetko et al., 1991; Esser, 2008, p. 403). Secondly, the subdimension of polity is concerned with any matters regarding the political and voting system. Usually, these are highly complex institutions; thus, the function of non-interventionism is to *inform the citizens about the political and voting system*. Examples of reporting styles following these patterns are stories about policy and polity topics (initiated by the journalists) or again many quotes by politicians discussing issues. Finally, the subdimension of politics refers to the self-presentational and process-oriented aspects of political institutions. Accordingly, the function of non-interventionism is to *impartially showcase such self-presentational efforts*. Again, if marketing and PR efforts of candidates such as campaign ads are simply shown in TV stories without adding journalistic comments, an indicator for non-interventionism is found.

II.3 Contextual Factors: Explaining Mediatization

Mediatization, interventionism, professionalization and commercialization are processes that are neither linear, teleological nor universal. Thus, they differ across time and space and are ideally compared between different contextual settings. Analyzing them provides an opportunity to take advantage of the benefits of (internationally) comparative communication research (e.g., Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 4-5) – are there different types of journalistic interventionism across different contextual settings? Comparative studies do justice to the "hierarchy of influences" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) affecting social phenomena (such as journalistic reporting

styles). Influencing factors are located on multiple analytical levels such as the media and political system, the political communication culture, countries, media organizations, individual journalists, the topic and motive of an article, and so on. Comparing communication practices with regard to these driving forces (or contextual factors) is one of the key aspects of comparative inquiry (e.g., Esser & Pfetsch, 2004; Blumler et al., 1992; Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 6; Livingstone, 2012, p. 416; for a comprehensive list of relevant context factors for the comparison of election campaigns, see Esser & Strömbäck, 2012a, p. 295-298). In this study, several contextual factors are hypothesized to show an effect on journalistic election campaign reporting styles.[6] They are located on two different levels: Media structures and systems as well as the campaign environment. Figure II.2 (p. 30) provides a visualization of these different levels of influences.

II.3.1 Media Structures

Two core factors can be identified at the *media structure* level: The type of media system (e.g., Hardy, 2012) and the ownership structure of media organizations (e.g., Zwicky, 2012). The most influential typology of *media systems* among Western democracies is the influential study of Hallin & Mancini (2004). According to four dimensions (newspaper market, political parallelism, professionalization and role of the state), they identify three distinct types of media systems: The liberal, democratic-corporatist and polarized-pluralist systems (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 89-248). The liberal model is dominated by highly professionalized journalism in an environment with a predominantly neutral commercial press and medium newspaper circulation, as well as a rather restrained state (not interfering with the media). The democratic-corporatist system also demonstrates highly professionalized journalism, but in a media system with high newspaper circulation, external pluralism and an historically strong party press as well as an interventionist

[6] See section II.5.3, p. 56 for the actual hypotheses.

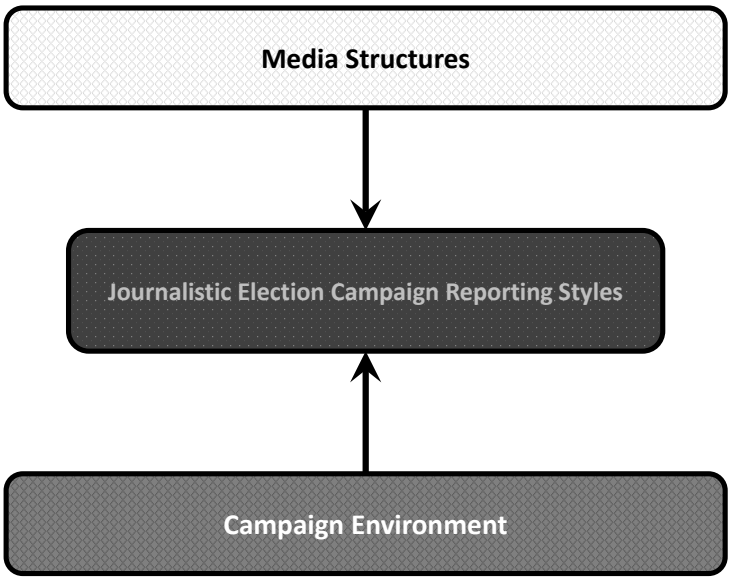


Figure II.2: Context Factors of Reporting Styles

state (e.g., in the form of subsidies and public service broadcasting). Finally, the polarized-pluralist system has the least amount of professionalization in a media context showing low newspaper circulation, high degrees of political parallelism and strong state interventions (press subsidies, public service broadcasting, but also historical instances of censorship). The type of media system is crucial: For example, journalists in media systems with higher degrees of professionalization are more likely to follow the media logic than those in systems with weaker professionalization. Furthermore, media systems with little intervention from the state (hardly any subsidies, no public service broadcasting, weak ownership regulations) might be subject to greater degrees of commercialization than systems with press subsidies and strong laws against economic concentration. Accordingly, less journalistic interventionism is expected in the European (democratic-corporatist and polarized-pluralist) media systems than in the liberal media system.

Furthermore, the type of *ownership structure* found in media organizations, specifically the dominant type of ownership found within a media system, must be discussed. In some sense, this factor is one dimension of the "role of the state". Various studies show that the type of ownership matters

for media content: For example, the findings by Dunaway (2013, p. 35-36) suggest that large, incorporated media conglomerates are more likely to show a negative tone in US election campaign coverage. With regards to broadcasting, the most prominent distinction is privately organized vs. public service TV channels: While the former must always consider their bottom line, public service broadcasters enjoy the freedom of producing stories and formats that are socially relevant and educational without the need to squeeze monetary profit out of them. Privately owned media organizations therefore feel greater commercial pressure; they are thus subject to greater degrees of commercialization and follow the economic aspect of media logic more closely than public service broadcasters. Studies investigating differences between public and private TV channels regularly find relevant differences in content between the two types (e.g., Cushion et al., 2012; Wessler & Rinke, 2014). In that sense, more journalistic interventionism is expected in privately owned TV channels (compared to the public service broadcasters).

II.3.2 Campaign Environment

The reciprocal relations and feedback loops between mediatized journalism and reflexively mediatized political campaigns shape the *campaign environment* of a specific election campaign in a given contextual setting. They are specific features of specific types of election campaigns that are theorized to show an impact on mediatization and interventionism. Several relevant indicators can be identified: Firstly, political campaigns that demand significant financial resources are an indicator for reflexive mediatization: Political actors expect only topics with high newsworthiness to pass the journalistic filters and adopt their communication accordingly (by hiring communication professionals and running advertisements). An *expensive campaign* is thus a proxy indicator for mediatized, interventionist attitudes by journalists and politicians anticipating these attitudes and tailoring their messages accord-

ingly. In addition, since advertisements and hiring of communication professionals are not free, this factor also alludes to the amount of campaign professionalization found within a country. Hence, expensive campaigns are expected to provoke higher levels of journalistic interventionism.

Similarly, the situations in which political candidates present themselves demonstrate crucial aspects of the campaign environment in a given election: If presidential candidates only show themselves in *tightly controlled situations* in which they do not have to fear critical questions from political opponents or investigative journalists (such as campaign events) during an entire campaign, this facet is a proxy indicator for a high degree of political professionalization and thus the desire to control the scope of media coverage. It is a sign of a strategically planned and highly restricted party communication, demonstrating a distant rather than proximate relation between media and political actors. Accordingly, more journalistic interventionism is expected in campaign environments comprising many scripted and tightly controlled communication situations.

On the journalistic side, further relevant contextual factors are present: A distinct *media bias* (towards the left or right political spectrum) means that media organizations favor some candidates of specific parties over others. Media bias is often split into several theoretical subdimensions, such as visibility bias, tonality bias and agenda bias (cf. Eberl et al., 2017, p. 112). Visibility bias refers to the amount of coverage candidates receive (i.e., the question whether one side is covered more extensively), tonality bias represents unequal evaluations (i.e., whether one side is treated more negatively) and agenda bias refers to the opportunities of candidates to present their own policy agenda (i.e., whether only the issues of one side are discussed in the media). Accordingly, a biased organization does not grant equivalent space and evaluations to both sides of the political spectrum, which is a further indicator for the media-politics relations (i.e., the campaign environment) in a specific contextual setting. Since biased journalists

are expected to apply interventionism selectively (i.e., only vis-à-vis one specific side of the political spectrum), moderate amounts of interventionism are expected. In other words, unbiased but fully mediatized journalists that enforce the media logic towards all parties should show higher levels of interventionism than journalists that only apply interventionism regarding specific actors.

II.4 Soundbites and Metacoverage: Indicators of Interventionism

There are many different strategies for the media to "cut out the political voice": For example, journalists can rephrase all candidate statements in their own, journalistic words. Furthermore, journalists can discuss actual political publicity attempts in their election campaign coverage. The following subsections II.4.1 and II.4.2 (p. 34 and 37) describe two specific projects dedicated to identifying these types of journalistic reactions to reflexive mediatization: The soundbite and metacoverage projects. While the two projects are both related to media-centered reporting styles and interventionism, they highlight different aspects of the phenomenon. The soundbite project examines how much space candidates are granted in evening TV news, while the metacoverage project is dedicated to investigating the changing nature of media content during election campaigns and to seeing whether mediatization and media-centered reporting styles bring out new formats and topics of political communication. While the former is concerned with the *form* of news stories, the latter represents news *content*. After having briefly discussed the two projects in the following subsections, some further thoughts are dedicated to explain and justify why it is productive to combine the two projects (section II.4.3, p. 40) and how a corresponding typology can be built and explained (section II.5.2, p. 54).

II.4.1 Soundbites: Core Ideas

The basic idea of *soundbite research* is to investigate the amount of space and time different actors occupy in TV news (mostly analyzed during election campaigns). This simple research question must be considered against the background of mediatization, media logic and media-centered reporting styles: It describes a rather complex social phenomenon (mediatization) with a relatively simple indicator (amount of space granted to someone in TV news). In his early study, Hallin (1992) adopts the term of "sound bites" from radio broadcasting and defines it as "a film or tape segment, within a news story, showing someone speaking" (Hallin, 1992, p. 5).[7] The study shows that the average candidate soundbite length, i.e., the typical time available for candidates to place a statement in the evening TV news, has been shrinking: While it was roughly 40 seconds in the 1968 campaign, the average soundbite was shortened to about nine seconds in 1988 (see Hallin, 1992, p. 5-6). The author explains this using the concept of *mediation*: Hallin (1992, p. 9) argues that TV news is more mediated nowadays than in the 1960s and 1970s – i.e., that the journalists used to be more passive (also see Vos, 2008). In light of the new theory, we would argue that TV news are not only more mediated, but specifically more *mediatized*. Clearly, short candidate soundbites are strong indicators for media-centered, interventionist reporting styles.

Various sources of *criticism* have emerged regarding "shrinking soundbites": Politicians, for example, would obviously prefer if their statements or even whole interviews were aired completely and unaltered; however, media scholars are alarmed by the empirical results brought forward, as well (e.g., Mills-Brown, 2008). In light of the mediatization theory, they

[7] Of course, the term had been used before as well (e.g., Mickelson, 1989; Adatto, 1990). It is a term taken on from the praxis of broadcast journalism. It has been used for a long time in textbooks and journalism schools to familiarize journalists-to-be with the restricted access to space and time they face when constructing TV news stories. The idea is that journalists use the most succinct statements by interviewees and use them to build up a news story rather than simply air the whole interview (e.g., Mills-Brown, 2008).

fear that concrete soundbites are more and more used simply because they show extreme opinions or are very emotional (thus obeying the economic aspect of media logic). In the words of the general model developed (see section II.5.1, p. 48), this is a sign of a "cynical" style of journalism (see Figure II.3, p. 49). In rather pessimistic moments, various researchers were even inclined to proclaim the "death of discourse" (Slayden & Whillock, 1999). Some scholars argue that this phenomenon could contribute to media bias, although empirical results only partially support this hypothesis (e.g., Lowry & Shidler, 1998). Other authors question the impact shrunken soundbites might have on voters altogether (see Russomanno & Everett, 1995).

The simple original idea of the "shrinking soundbite" has promptly been complemented with various further perspectives. So-called *"imagebites"* have been introduced in order to grasp visual aspects of the changing patterns of election campaign coverage (e.g., Barnhurst & Steele, 1997; Bucy & Grabe, 2007; Esser, 2008; Grabe & Bucy, 2009). Imagebites are the visual equivalent of soundbites: "Audiovisual segments in which candidates are shown but not necessarily heard" (see Bucy & Grabe, 2007, p. 653). Empirical research should consider these visual features in addition to the focus on actual spoken soundbites. Bucy & Grabe (2007, p. 669) find that the average length of candidate imagebites is increasing, even as the normal spoken candidate soundbite is shrinking. Candidate imagebites are also longer on average than candidate soundbites.

Researchers have also started to focus on the actual *content* of candidate soundbites (e.g., Bucy & Grabe, 2007; Esser, 2008). It is self-evident that the simple length of time that candidates are granted in TV news is not the only important factor, but that researchers should carefully investigate what the candidates actually say (e.g., Bucy & Grabe, 2007, p. 658). Following Bucy & Grabe (2007), categories such as 'issues and positions', 'attacking opponents', 'defending oneself', etc. are used to analyze candidate soundbite

content (see Bucy & Grabe, 2007, p. 661; Esser, 2008, p. 415). To be able to inform and enlighten the citizens, election campaign coverage should report on the substantial political differences between parties. Thus, it is more desirable for politicians to talk about actual issues and policies and for journalists to include these statements in their reports.

Finally, inspired by Zaller (1999) and Bennett (2005), Esser (2008, p. 417) complements the soundbite perspective with a further (visual) aspect: The amount of *control* candidates have over the communication situation in which they are shown speaking.[8] For example, candidates can show themselves in highly controlled communication situations, such as campaign rallies in front of crowds of supporters – a situation in which they do not have to fear critical questions from journalists or political opponents. At the opposite end of the spectrum, spontaneous interviews on the streets are examples of a very uncontrolled situation. Of course, highly scripted and staged election events, tight news management and a reluctance of political candidates to present themselves in spontaneous and slightly uncontrolled situations are all aspects of highly professionalized campaigning.

Taken together, the area of soundbite research represents a rather *formal approach* to content analysis, investigating the structure of campaign coverage and the amount of time and space that is granted to relevant actors. Nevertheless, even with these relatively simple means, the vast amount of literature has produced rather interesting results: That candidate soundbites have shrunken rapidly in the second half of the 20th century, while the journalists themselves have moved more towards the center of the coverage (e.g., Hallin, 1992); that during the same time, candidate imagebites have instead grown more important (e.g. Bucy & Grabe, 2007); and that there are substantial differences between countries in the actual patterns of soundbites and imagebites (e.g., Esser, 2008). Of course, in light of the developed model of campaign communication and coverage (see section II.5.1, p. 48,

[8] Esser (2008, p. 417) calls the variable "news situation".

respectively Figure II.3, p. 49) and especially its reciprocal aspects of "reflexive mediatization", communication professionals and political actors have noticed these results as well (e.g., Mills-Brown, 2008): They react further by tailoring their messages to the new requirements, using more condensed, provocative and persuasive statements (cf. de Landtsheer et al., 2008, p. 223). In the worst case, a vicious circle of reflexive mediatization and the media happily including these self-mediatized statements in their reports can emerge: A "spiral of mediatization" (Asp, 1986).

II.4.2 Metacoverage: Core Ideas

The *metacoverage* project also needs to be discussed. While soundbite research focuses on formal patterns of campaign coverage, the metacoverage perspective focuses on changing news contents. In that sense, the two perspectives thoroughly complement each other, resulting in a new perspective that is greater than the sum of its parts (which is discussed extensively in section II.4.3, p. 40): While the soundbite project tackles the *form* of reporting styles, the metacoverage project focuses on the *content* of reporting styles. In that sense, they both add different perspectives on the issue of interventionist reporting styles.

As mediatization progresses, the typical *topics* found in campaign coverage are changing as well.[9] They are substituted by further news stories that "turn the spotlight inward" (Johnson & Boudreau, 1996) and describe the behavior and role of the media as well as the publicity efforts of candidates (see Esser & D'Angelo, 2003, p. 618). Esser & Spanier (2005) argue that this is a direct reaction by the media to new forms of news management and campaign organization by political actors: As politicians reflexively mediatize their messages to increase their newsworthiness, journalists react by directly referring to such actions – thus creating new kinds of topics

[9] Note that this phenomenon is not unique for campaign coverage, but can also be found around various other topics and themes (e.g., D'Angelo, 2008). For the sake of simplicity, this paper refers to metacoverage in the context of election campaigns.

(also see de Vreese & Elenbaas, 2011, p. 75). Early studies analyzing this phenomenon have used various terms to denote such stories (cf. Esser & D'Angelo, 2003, p. 618), such as "self-referential news" and "process news" (Kerbel, 1998), "media process news" (Kerbel et al., 2000), "media narcissism" (Lichter et al., 1999), "coverage of coverage" (Gitlin, 1991; Stebenne, 1993), "media stories" (Stempel & Windhauser, 1991), "stories about the media" (Johnson & Boudreau, 1996), "metacommunication" (Esser et al., 2001) and finally "metacoverage" (e.g., Esser & D'Angelo, 2003, 2006). It is communication about communication: The fundamental communicative processes and routines of mediatized election campaigns become a topic of campaign coverage themselves. The fact that this does not only happen within specialized formats and beats that are devoted to media topics, but is also compounded with typical campaign topics, is crucial: Such stories are not (necessarily) about the media or the politicians' publicity efforts *per se*, but rather about typical events and issues. The metacoverage perspective is "superimposed" onto these normal stories (D'Angelo, 2008).[10] Esser & D'Angelo (2006) take inspiration from Kerbel et al. (2000) in order to categorize these "standard" campaign topics onto which the metacoverage topics are imposed (also see D'Angelo & Esser, 2014, p. 307).

Furthermore, the *normative evaluations* of the metacoverage phenomenon differ substantially (e.g., D'Angelo, 2008; Esser & D'Angelo, 2006, p. 45). Some authors (and probably the journalists themselves) view it as a standard, routine process in campaign coverage. In that sense, metacoverage is purely seen as an additional item of neutral information (e.g., stories mentioning the presence of journalists at a campaign event) that is passed along through the media in order to provide the audience with information about the latest events (e.g., Johnson & Boudreau, 1996). Viewed from that perspective, the journalists are just doing their job. Other researchers fear

[10] Obviously, the sources for the metacoverage perspective can vary from case to case: It can be the journalist, but it could also be a statement by a politician (e.g., that "the media" are not covering his or her campaign in a fair way) that is taken up by the journalists – and anything in between (e.g., D'Angelo, 2008).

that certain metacoverage aspects can have negative effects: For example, Patterson (1993) argues that a "horse race" mentality and "game frames" are intensified by metacoverage, thus degrading the campaign coverage by focusing on processes and persons instead of policies and issues (e.g., Kerbel, 1997, 1998). Finally, there are also authors who plead for a more optimistic view; stories about political publicity efforts by candidates and how the media react to them can be enlightening and informative for the audience, promoting a critical stance and exposing suspicious incidents (e.g., McNair, 2000, p. 171; Sabato et al., 2000, p. 143-151; Sumpter & Tankard, Jr., 1994). Such a type of metacoverage uncovers the hidden background processes of election campaigns and holds those in power accountable.[11] Esser & D'Angelo (2006, p. 46) emanate from this line of thought and argue that metacoverage can indeed take on any of these three "forms": They construct three different *frames* that capture the actual function of metacoverage. The resulting frames are called *conduit, strategy* and *accountability* frames (also see Esser & D'Angelo, 2003, p. 623): The **conduit frame** (1) merely describes the media and political publicity efforts as a neutral way of transmitting relevant information; the **strategy frame** (2) focuses on the strategic intentions behind concrete actions (of the media or political actors), thus following a slightly more conflictive mode of operation; and finally (3), **accountability frames** highlight the hidden and complex processes behind election campaigns, thus enlightening the citizens and supporting their critical stances. Accordingly, in contrast to the conduit and accountability frame, the strategy frame indicates an interventionist reporting style (i.e., speculating about motives and aims rather than neutral reporting and critical enlightenment), while the conduit frame particularly represents a non-interventionist, sacerdotal journalistic

[11] In that sense, the theoretical base of metacoverage research inherently shows the dialectical nature mediatization and the "two sides of the coin" of media logic (also see section II.1.1, p. 8). Identifying positive as well as negative possible normative outcomes, as described in section II.5.1 (p. 8), is thus a core feature of metacoverage theory and research.

approach (i.e., presenting publicity efforts by candidates as a neutral channel of information).

II.4.3 Combining the Indicators

The two perspectives of soundbite and metacoverage research complement each other well. They highlight the same phenomenon from different angles: How journalists react to reflexive mediatization by politicians during election campaigns, i.e. the question about the amount and nature of journalistic interventionism.[12][13] Do they provide politicians plenty of opportunity to present themselves and their policies in their own words? Or do journalists cut out the "political voice" and formulate reports about events, trends and policies themselves? Do journalists react to reflexive mediatization by focusing on such strategic actions (by politicians and media actors alike) in the reports, fleshing out "metacoverage" as new and legitimate election topics – thus turning the public relation stunts by political actors on their head? All of these phenomena are different aspects of how journalists react to reflexive mediatization and as such a direct reflection of media or political logic – and thus indicators for (non-)interventionism.

In other words, while the soundbites project covers the *form*, the metacoverage project illuminates the *content* of media-centered reporting styles. The *soundbite project* is concerned with relatively simple formal patterns of election campaign reporting: The speaking time of relevant actors (such as journalists, politicians, experts, etc.) is collected and compared, including

[12] Of course, many journalistic reactions can be imagined and studied: For example, journalists could become completely cynical towards actors trying to influence them, they could ignore certain stories and actors all together if it is possible, scandalize how much money is spent on advertising, and so on. Metacoverage and soundbites tackle many of these aspects: Reactions regarding the *story format* by cutting out relevant actors (soundbite project) as well as reactions regarding the *story content* by directly talking about concrete aspects of (reflexive) mediatization (metacoverage). In that sense, these two projects comprise many different aspects of journalistic interventionism and reporting styles.

[13] Such reactions are crucial parts of the theoretical model that will be developed in section II.5.1 (p. 48), as they determine both whether reporting styles are media- or politics-centered and whether outcomes correspond to an optimistic or pessimistic normative outlook (cf. Figure II.3, p. 49).

the actual topics that politcians talk about in these statements (rather than the topics of complete news reports). In addition, the amount of control over the communication situations (cf. footnote 8, p. 36) in which politicians present themselves is noted for each candidate's statement. The *metacoverage project*, on the other hand, focuses on the content of media-centered reporting styles. Patterns of classical election campaign topics such as policies, evaluations of candidates, statements about the electioneering process, etc. can be identified. The metacoverage perspective adds a further mediatization angle to the topics. It is argued that, in reaction to professionalization and reflexive mediatization of the political actors, journalists start to construct a new type of election campaign topic by describing these processes – e.g., by speculating about aims and intentions of advertisements, disclosing election campaign finances, talking about motives for media reports, and so on. In that sense, analyses of metacoverage constitute a new substance of election campaign coverage, while soundbite analyses investigate form.

To summarize, the projects complement each other by *tackling different aspects of mediatization and interventionism*: Firstly (1), the metacoverage project focuses on topics. It does so by identifying metacoverage topics in addition to classical election campaign topics. Thus, the degree of journalistic interventionism in the form of raising metacoverage topics (as a reaction to reflexive mediatization) is tackled. In addition, the conduit, strategy and accountability frames denominate different types of metacoverage fulfilling different normative functions: Are metacoverage topics used in an enlightening and critical way that educates the public about hidden structures and situations in the backstage of politics? Or are they used merely to denote strategic actions of other media organizations and political parties? Are they used heavily for self-promotion? Secondly (2), the soundbite project collects data on structural features of campaign coverage: Who is allowed to speak for how long? What topics do politicians talk about if they are

granted space in TV evening news? In what kind of situations do politicians show themselves: Only in those that allow them to precisely control what questions are asked and by whom? Or also in spontaneous situations? Taken together, the metacoverage and soundbite projects are two dimensions of a phenomenon: Content and form. Thus, they form an extensive pool of media logic indicators (reflecting interventionism) and political logic indicators (reflecting non-interventionism).

II.4.3.1 Soundbite and Metacoverage as Indicators of Interventionism

To eventually derive empirical indicators for interventionism from the subdimensional aspects of media and political logic, Table II.1 (p. 26) can be complemented with fitting soundbite and metacoverage concepts. In Table II.2 (p. 43), soundbite and metacoverage indicators are assigned to the subdimensions. Taken together, these proxies serve as indicators for (non-)interventionism in the exploratory analysis building up a typology of interventionist reporting styles.

Looking at Table II.2 (p. 43), journalistic interventionism fulfills the function of raising attention for the **economic subdimension** of media logic. As mentioned, journalists might intervene by cutting out "boring" talk about political issues and rather focus on the personality of candidates. The *content* of candidate soundbites perfectly describes this: Reporting styles showing very little candidate soundbites with issue topics are more interventionist (regarding the economic subdimension) than styles integrating many policy quotes by politicians. Similarly, the *process & personality topics* in the metacoverage project describe the topical structure of whole stories (rather than single soundbites) – they also indicate high interventionism in this sense. Furthermore, the *metacoverage frames* must be considered: Metacoverage strategy frames are generally conceived as interventionist (see D'Angelo & Esser, 2014, p. 306). However, the amount of intervention-

Mediatization Logic	**Media Logic (Interventionism Indicators)**			**Political Logic (Non-Interventionism Indicators)**		
Dimension	**Economic**	**Professional**	**Technical**	**Policy**	**Polity**	**Politics**
Function of (Non-) Interventionism	Raise Attention (of Audience)	Demonstrate Independence (vis-à-vis Political Actors)	Create Visually Interesting Stories; Visual Self-References	Neutrally Report on Political Positions of Candidates	Inform about Political and Voting System	Impartially Showcase the Self-Presentational Efforts of Candidates
Soundbite Indicators	Few Candidate Soundbites w/ Issue Topic	Short and Few Candidate Soundbites; Many Journalist Soundbites	(Short and Few Candidate Soundbites; Many Journalist Soundbites)	Candidate Soundbites w/ Issue Topic; Long and Many Candidate Soundbites; Few Journalist Soundbites	(Candidate Soundbites w/ Issue Topic; Long and Many Candidate Soundbites; Few Journalist Soundbites)	Long and Many Candidate Soundbites
Metacoverage Indicators	Process & Personality Topics; Publicity Strategy Frames; Media Conduit Frames	Metatopics; Publicity Strategy Frames; Media Conduit & Media Strategy Frames	Media Conduit Frames (e.g., Links to Online Coverage and Social Media Accounts)	Policy & Polity Topics; Publicity Conduit Frames	Policy & Polity Topics	Process & Personality Topics; Publicity Conduit Frames
Degree of Interventionism	High			None		Medium

Table II.2: Relation between Mediatization, Interventionism, Soundbites and Metacoverage

ism can be differentiated further: Publicity strategy frames identify TV stories that pick up PR and marketing efforts by political actors, but add journalistic commentary, evaluation and speculation (about the political strategy of the actors) rather than neutrally presenting the mentioned efforts (which would correspond to a publicity conduit frame). In that sense, they intervene by strategically discussing the motives and intentions of political actors. A focus on strategy, tactics and horse race offers more interesting narratives and provides more journalistic control over content than discussing complex issues (see Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011, p. 36). However, with regard to the metacoverage frames, the media conduit frame can also be conceptualized as interventionist in the sense of being an indicator for media logic (cf. Esser & Strömbäck, 2012b, p. 318): For example, references to the story magnitude or cross-platform marketing efforts such as links to further online coverage can serve to lure the audience into additional media consumption (and thus attention for the respective media products).

Secondly, for the **professional subdimension** of media logic, interventionism performs the function of demonstrating journalistic independence from political actors and a vast journalistic expertise. Just like other specialized professions, such as lawyers, doctors, university professors, etc., journalists value autonomy in the creation of their products; such autonomy is not only satisfying, but can also lead to a higher pay and status (see Zaller, 1998, p. 114). The soundbite project comprises simple indicators registering the cutting out of the "political voice" (Zaller, 1999) to mark their professional independence, namely the presence of *many journalist soundbites* as well as only *few and short candidate soundbites*. These concepts directly indicate the degree to which journalists grant politicians opportunities to present themselves in news stories (cf. Esser, 2008, 403). Regarding metacoverage, **?**, p. 47 argue that in this sense, the presence of *media and / or publicity topics* per se reflect the professional aspect of media logic. Metacoverage as a special topic "turning the spotlight inwards"

(Johnson & Boudreau, 1996) is thus conceptualized as an interventionist journalistic defense strategy rather than an educational exercise (see Esser et al., 2001, p. 41). Such topics demonstrate that the journalists themselves are the stories' main newsmakers (e.g., Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, 217) rather than any other actors.

Thirdly, interventionism also fulfills a subtle function for the **technical subdimension** of media logic. TV stories demand that the journalists use the available technical options of an audiovisual medium to create (visually) interesting stories and insert self-referential cues. As has been mentioned, cross-references superimposing links to online coverage or Social Media accounts of the respective media organization are indicators for such technical aspects. Regarding soundbite concepts, journalistic editing of political quotes trimming them down to the shortest length possible can be considered as technical aspects. In that sense, the presence of *short and few candidate soundbites* as well as the occurrence of *many journalist soundbites* is listed in the table again, although they are somewhat redundant. However, regarding the metacoverage frames, the *media conduit frames* suit this aspect well: They indicate story elements such as references to the own media organization and media products, the presence of journalists and camera operators at political events (implying important and vast coverage), self-promotional aspects, etc. – all demonstrating that the journalists themselves are the stories' main newsmakers (e.g., Strömbäck & Esser, 2009, 217).

Fourth, turning to the political logic, let us consider the **policy subdimension**. For the political logic, it is non-interventionism that drives the subdimensions (rather than interventionism) – since "any feature that follows from media logic rather than political logic may be conceptualized as an indicator of media interventionism" (Esser & Strömbäck, 2012b, 318), any feature that follows from political logic can be considered as an indicator of non-interventionism. For the policy subdimension, non-interventionism

performs the function of not interfering with substantial policy discussions; accordingly, journalists expressing such a non-interventionist reporting styles neutrally report on the positions and solutions of candidates regarding crucial political issues, without adding any comment or evaluation of their own. The presence of *many candidate soundbites with issue topics* perfectly indicates such a reporting style. More indirectly, stories generally including *many and long candidate soundbites* (regardless of their content) and only *few journalist soundbites* are also considered proxy indicators for the policy subdimension. Furthermore, stories with *policy & polity topics* (as conceptualized in the metacoverage project) indicate non-interventionism regarding the policy subdimension (e.g., by presenting the ideology, worldview and issue positions of specific candidates or by substantially evaluating the political performance of candidates). Finally, the *publicity conduit frame* displays a "sacerdotal" journalistic approach that reruns and neutrally presents the marketing offensives of political actors, which may include the presentation of specific issue positions. Thus, the neutral framing of the metacoverage publicity topic is part of non-interventionism.

Furthermore, non-interventionism fulfills the function of informing about the political and voting system for the **polity subdimension**. There are no direct soundbite concepts indicating such topics, but styles showing *many candidate soundbites with issue topics and generally many and long candidate soundbites* as well as *few journalist soundbites* are listed again as indirect proxy indicators for the polity subdimension. However, the metacoverage project provides a direct concept for polity: The presence of *policy & polity topics*. These include topics such as discussions of political and voting systems.

Finally, regarding the **politics subdimension**, medium interventionism performs the function of impartially showing and representing the self-presentational marketing efforts of candidates. The self-presentational aspects of political logic are conceptualized as medium interventionist: They

cater somewhat to the desire of journalists to discuss personalities and marketing strategies (rather than political issues), while still being part of the political logic. As such, they provide a middle ground between full interventionism and complete non-interventionism. Generally, *long and many candidate soundbites* are an indicator for the fact that a candidate is granted many opportunities to present himself (or herself) in his (or her) own words, frames, assessments and scenarios (cf. Esser, 2008, p. 403). Regarding topics, *process & personality topics* also indicate such a middle ground between media logic and political logic. Finally, the *publicity conduit frame* directly transmits the self-presentation of candidates through to the audience and is the strongest indicator for non-interventionist aspects of the politics subdimension.

II.5 Summary: Evaluation, Analysis and Theses

So far, the theory section has introduced the general concept of mediatization of politics, discussing aspects of commercialization, professionalization and interventionism as well as technical imperatives, contextual factors and various further aspects of journalistic reporting styles. Moving from these abstract aspects to more concrete factors, the following subsection will summarize the theoretical section by providing an integrative theoretical framework of mediatized election campaigns and interventionism. The aim is to identify and describe indicators and models of mediatization in campaign periods in order to build up research questions and theses on this basis. To do so, a general model of campaign communication (by political actors) and campaign coverage (by media actors) is developed first, crystallizing core influences, reciprocal effects and feedback loops as well as anticipating possible outcomes and their normative assessment (section II.5.1, p. 48). A second section provides an overview of the design

of the analysis (which is laid out in detail in section III.3, p. 93, including the methodological procedures), describing the design of the analysis from a theoretical perspective (section II.5.2, p. 54). A concluding subsection draws on this to construct the research questions and hypotheses (section II.5.3, p. 56).

II.5.1 Campaigning, Interventionism and Normativity

Firstly, an integrative model of mediatized campaigning is presented. It condenses theoretical notions elaborated thus far. *Campaign communication* refers to the communicative publicity efforts of political actors in an election campaign (e.g., Esser & Strömbäck, 2012a). *Campaign coverage*, on the other hand, signifies the news reporting by media actors on the campaign. Figure II.3 (p. 49) summarizes the relations and interdependency inherent in the patterns of campaign communication delivered by politicians and its coverage.[14] In order to do justice to the reciprocity of the phenomena, direct as well as indirect influences and feedback paths are present in the theoretical model. Normative assumptions and evaluations about possible negative and positive effects of (non-)interventionism are presented and explained on this basis.

The *aim* of the model is to show the factors influencing campaign communication by political actors and the campaign coverage by media actors, allowing for reciprocal effects and feedback paths. Two text boxes at the bottom and top of the model describe these phenomena. There are two sources of direct influences on these patterns, one each for political campaign communication and the respective media coverage: The media logic and news values influence the patterns of media coverage. Similarly, the

[14] While the model and figure descriptions explicitly refer to campaigns, the general principles and ideas hold true for "routine periods" outside of elections as well. The mutual dependencies between the political and media actors – and thus the expected degrees of mediatization – are stronger in election campaigns (e.g., Marcinkowski, 2005; Marcinkowski & Steiner, 2014), but the core mode of operation is the same for any public debate.

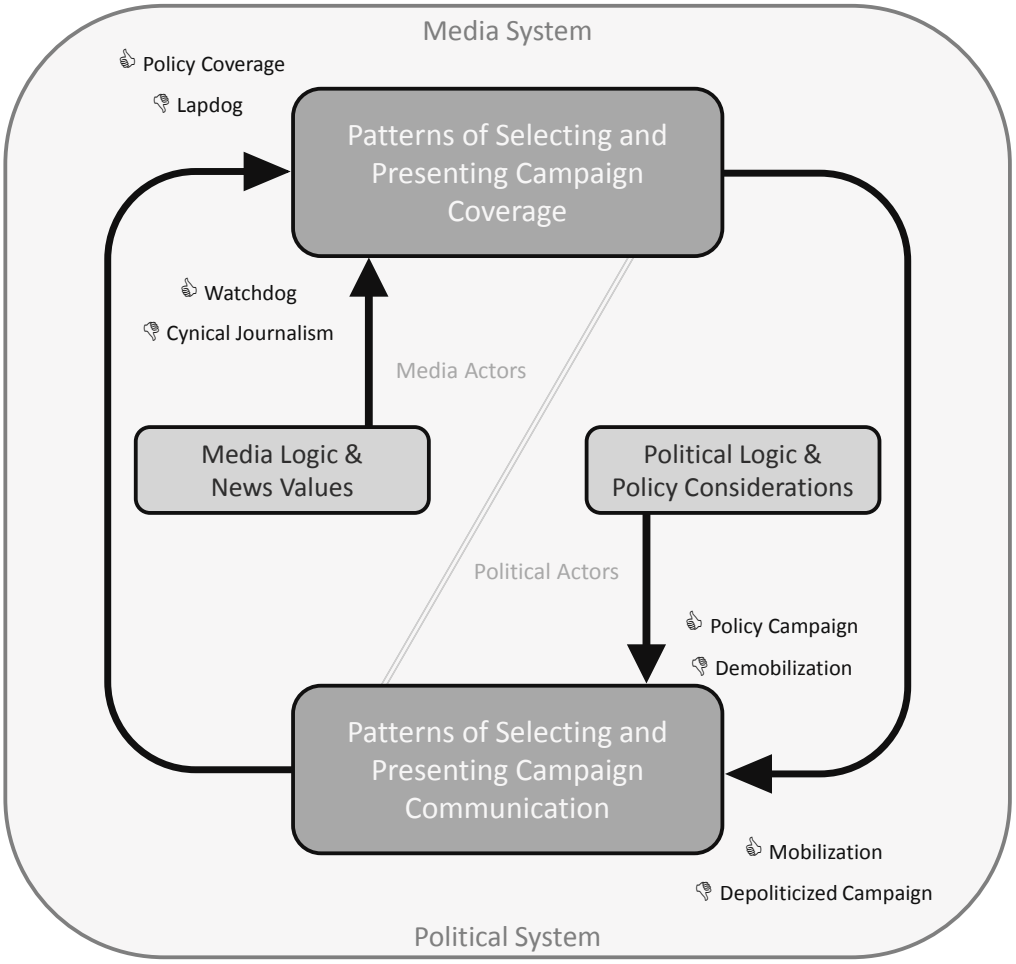


Figure II.3: Mediatization, Campaign Communication and Coverage

political logic and party policy considerations are important predictors for the patterns of campaign communication by the political actors. These are the direct influences, visually represented by the vertical arrows in the model (Figure II.3). However, each of these sources also has an indirect influence on the other sphere of actors. Finally, "thumbs up" and "thumbs down" symbols denote the potential positive and negative normative outcomes.

The patterns of *selecting and presenting campaign coverage* (the media actor side) are considered first.[15] There is a direct influence of media logic and news values on these patterns: They are rationales for why and how to

[15] In an analytical sense, it cannot be determined whether professionalized campaign communication by political actors or professionalized campaign coverage by media actors has arisen first. It is a "chicken or egg" problem. However, for the sake of the argument, the description has to start with one of the two aspects. The reader should keep in mind that this does not have any chronological significance.

select and present aspects of the campaign. For example, the professional aspects inscribed in the media logic might prime the journalists to take a critical stance against any information from officials; they perform an interventionist "watchdog" function, assessing any official communication and investigating claims made by politicians. Normatively, that is the positive side of the media logic. On the other hand, if journalists only consider news values and economic aspects of the media logic to gain as much attention (and thus monetary profit) as possible, simple non-issues could be scandalized and exaggerated by journalists, resulting in a sort of "cynical" interventionist journalism that scandalizes for the sake of scandalizing and uses many strategical "horse race" and "game" frames[16] (instead of thoroughly investigating socially relevant claims, events and actions). In the normative view, that is the risk of the media logic and news values. Both of these examples of potential campaign coverage are variations of interventionist, media-centered reporting styles, but the normative evaluation differs substantially between them.

Before describing the indirect paths of influence and the corresponding reciprocal feedback loops, an explanation of the direct influence of the *political logic and policy considerations* is provided first. These are the factors directly influencing campaign management and -communication. The political logic and policy considerations determine a great deal of the content of party communication in a campaign. For example, if migration is deemed a very relevant topic during an election year in a specific country, parties will do their best to communicate their stance on the issue and how they would tackle related problems. In a sense, this is the textbook model of what an election should be about. It has the potential for a genuine campaign about actual political issues ("policy campaign"), which is the normatively positive potential outcome. However, there is a certain danger of boring journalists and the general public with dry details about specific policies and uninspir-

[16] For an analysis of such frames with respect to the German 2005 election, see Rinke et al., 2013.

ing solutions for issues, resulting in demobilization of the voters and indifference from the media organizations – normatively, that is of course the potential negative result of a strict non-interventionist focus on the political logic and policy considerations. These two types of political campaign communication are non-interventionist (politics-centered) styles.

Furthermore, there are indirect influences on the campaign communication and coverage. Firstly, typical *patterns of campaign coverage influence the campaign communication* by political actors (Mm footnote 15, p. 49). For example, if standard coverage is generally rather interventionist, political actors might anticipate the logic of how media organizations pick and write stories ("reflexive mediatization"). They do so by tailoring their messages to the media logic and the news values, hoping that such messages will pass the journalistic filters and "gate keepers" (Lewin, 1947; White, 1950) more easily than information purely following the political logic. In that sense, the media logic and the news values have an indirect influence on the patterns of campaign communication by political actors, mediated by the patterns of campaign coverage. Again, this phenomenon can result both in normatively good and bad outcomes: Optimistically, politicians adhering to the logic of the news media and constructing election campaign messages accordingly can inject "spice" and life into otherwise "boring" and complicated policy issues, thus mobilizing voters that might otherwise not bother with such topics (e.g., McNair et al., 2003). However, taken to the extreme, this can also result in completely depoliticized campaigns not really tackling any actual political issues at all, but rather focusing on telegenic imagery, attacks on political opponents and emotional appeals. Those are the two possible types of media-centered campaign communication.

Finally, there's an analogous indirect effect: The *political logic and policy considerations influence the patterns of campaign coverage*, mediated by the patterns of campaign communication by political actors. Journalists react to typical patterns of campaign messages: If campaign communication

is non-interventionist and thus mainly guided by the political logic and policy considerations, journalists might follow the discourse and actually cover substantial policy issues – which is, of course, the normatively positive outlook in this situation. However, if journalists lose all professional proximity to the political actors and are reluctant to execute their function as gatekeepers, the normative risk is that they are reduced to an obsequious platform for the political actors to present themselves as they please. Such a non-interventionist reporting style of docile "lapdogs" is the potential pessimistic result in this constellation. These two outcomes are the two possible types of politics-centered campaign coverage.

Having explained all four primary (direct and indirect paths) and the eight different possible outcomes, the "bent" arrows in the model (Figure II.3, p. 49) also represent the possible feedback paths. There are reciprocal relations in the complex social phenomenon of mediatization, i.e., self-energizing feedback loops that can further escalate the patterns already present. The most obvious one that is already implied in the general idea of reflexive mediatization is simple: Consider a media system that shows highly interventionist reporting styles following the media logic and news values. Now, reflexive mediatization simply states that professionalized political actors anticipate these patterns of campaign coverage and arrange their campaign messages accordingly. Of course, this is done in order to raise the chances to forcing these messages through the filter of the news media organizations. However, journalists are not stupid and detect such attempts to influence and even exploit them: They therefore feel threatened in their professional role as "gatekeepers" and "watchdogs", actually scrutinizing the messages of the powers that be and functioning as a "fourth estate" in order to identify injustices and wrongdoing. In effect, they might consider the media logic even more and thus cut out direct messages from the political actors (i.e., act even more interventionist). This results in a feedback loop of more and more mediatized campaign coverage and communication.

Although less prominently implied in the usual literature, the same feedback path is also possible for politics-centered coverage and communication. If journalists in a given system happily take up campaign communication dominated by policy messages and the political logic, this may reinforce the way in which political actors communicate their campaign messages. The politicians realize that the media actually talk about the policy inputs they receive from the political sphere and might thus be encouraged to continue the debate using such messages. All in all, these feedback paths obviously always hold the potential for the positive or negative normative results described above.

Finally, the *context* of these communicative processes matters. The model is thus visually encompassed by a box representing the media system (at the top of the model) and the political system (at the bottom of the model). As has been mentioned, it is always crucial to remember the "hierarchy of influences" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) present when discussing social phenomena. In other words, the actual characteristics of the media and political systems influence the amount and form of this communicative process. For example, media systems still showing substantial remnants of the old "party press" systems in Europe might tend more towards the politics-centered styles, since journalists are rooted in the political thinking of issues and policies. On the other hand, highly commercialized media systems may push the communication in the direction of media-centered styles, as all actors are battling for the scarce attention of the public. The same is true for the political system: Majoritarian election systems and very centralized, non-federal polity systems can favor depoliticized campaigns and a focus on personality rather than issues. As described in section II.3 (p. 28), the study at hand considers contextual factors of the media system and the specific campaign environment.

II.5.2 Identifying and Explaining Reporting Styles

In the following, the theoretical basis for the identification and explanation of journalistic election campaign reporting styles is elaborated.[17] The considerations show several aspects: Firstly, the significance of cross-country comparisons is underlined once more. Secondly, some thoughts are given to the epistemology of typologies. Thirdly, these two aspects are linked with exploratory methods and it is argued that they can help to identify (empirical) typologies.

The formation of a typology of journalistic reporting styles demands sufficient potential variation in campaign coverage. Such an investigation should thus *compare* cases across countries and across types of media organizations. This ensures variation in the contextual environment along the "hierarchy of influences" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996): Different media- and political systems are taken into account (country level) as well as diverse types of TV channels, i.e., private and public TV channels (channel level). Only a comparative perspective fulfills the strict requirements necessary for the formation of a typology of election campaign reporting styles. By highlighting both commonalities as well as differences across countries, the communicative phenomena investigated can be explained thoroughly and discussed in light of the relevant contextual settings in each country (e.g., Esser & Pfetsch, 2004; Blumler et al., 1992).

With regard to the *classification* of TV channels and countries into election campaign reporting styles, its sole purpose is not to build scales for the typology dimensions and models. One of the main advantages of middle-N samples (such as the one in this study with 14 TV channels) is that the researcher can combine such an analysis with a heavily case-oriented interpretation by carefully selecting his methods and especially

[17] For the explanation of the detail and methodology of the design of the analysis, please refer to section III.3 (p. 93), as well as Figures III.1, III.2, III.3, III.4 and III.5 (p. 95, 97, 98, 99 and 101). The operationalization of core variables is described in section III.1 (p. 63).

their interpretation. The cluster analysis that identifies the models of the typology (on the basis of its dimensions) does more than providing just a scale for the typology models: Each case can be interpreted in terms of how typical it is for a model (or not). For example, typical cases of a type should (statistically) be located close to the cluster centers. They are the "centers of mass" of each cluster, average cases that can be found in the respective reporting styles. Furthermore, if a case is located towards the outer edges of a typology model, there are two different possible interpretations (statistically, both options will be registered as long distances from the respective case to the respective cluster center): Firstly, they can be borderline or even hybrid cases that are located on the edges of a model bordering another model. That is an indicator that such cases share commonalities of both models. Secondly, a case located far from a cluster center can also be at the outer edge of a model towards the extreme points of the initial dimensions: In that case, it is far away from all cluster centers. These are the extreme cases that fully represent any aspect of the respective typology model to the maximum. These aspects can be inspected visually with graphs displaying the dimensions and models (see section III.3, p. 93 on the design of the analysis and the respective figures for further details); Methodologically, they are a well-balanced middle ground between purely qualitative, case-oriented or quantitative, variable-oriented analyses. For a comprehensive and extensive overview of the (dis-)advantages of typologies and common strategies when building the classifications, see Bailey (1994).

Methodologically, such a comparative investigation must conduct both exploratory as well as explanatory analyses (the detailed methodological proceeding is described later in section III.3, p. 93; also see footnote 17, p. 54) in addition to simple descriptions (e.g., Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 10-11). The *exploratory analysis* is firstly needed in order to identify both dimensions, as well as the actual types of the typology. It also encompasses

descriptive accounts of the phenomenon. Secondly, the *explanatory* part of the inquiry can subsequently investigate the contextual factors influencing and co-occurring with the typology types. Many contextual settings influence election campaigns and the coverage of them: For example, Esser & Strömbäck (2012a, p. 295-298) list the political system, media system, campaign regulations, campaign professionalism, the political culture as well as the political situation and campaign events as crucial contextual factors. Similarly, they list politcal structures and cultures, campaign professionalism, the media structure and culture as well as media professionalism as relevant factors for election campaign coverage (see Esser & Strömbäck, 2012b, p. 318-323). This study incorporates various proxy indicators representing these context structures.[18]

II.5.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The theory chapter concludes with a short section detailing the research questions and hypotheses. While they are derived and deduced from the theoretical discussions, a short paragraph explains the rationale behind each research question and thesis again. Since a significant part of the analysis is comprised of exploratory analyses, open research questions are more productive as an analytical guidance than precise theses. Some hypotheses can be derived from the theory and tested. Most of these tests are presented in the subsection on the descriptive analyses (section IV.1, p. 103).

II.5.3.1 Open Research Questions

Let us firstly consider the open research questions. For the descriptive analysis, the main guiding question is whether indicators of soundbite and metacoverage differ more across countries or across TV channels. While the

[18] Of course, the context factors are highly interrelated and have developed historically, thus they show specific patterns that vary across space and time. While it is impractical to fully implement every possible indicator for every type of contextual factor, this study incorporates a range of indicators that covers many of the overarching areas.

analysis does not incorporate time comparisons, the question whether news content *converges* across countries (e.g., Umbricht & Esser, 2014) is tackled in a cross-sectional perspective. The descriptive analysis is hence discussed regarding the aspect of whether news content differs more across countries or across TV channels (public vs. private channels). Consequently, research question 1 asks:

Research Question 1 *Does news content differ more strongly across countries or across public vs. private TV channels?*

The remaining research questions are mainly concerned with the exploratory part of the analysis.[19] The goal of the exploratory analysis is to identify *patterns* of election campaign reporting, ideally resulting in a typology of journalistic election campaign reporting styles. On a very broad and general level, research question 2 thus asks:

Research Question 2 *What **patterns** of (non-)interventionist election campaign reporting styles can be found using both soundbite and metacoverage indicators?*

Delving more deeply into such potential patterns, the formation of a typology necessitates both the identification of *dimensions* as well as models or *types* of the typology. Both the quantity as well as the quality of these reporting styles are open empirical questions that need to be tackled. Thus, research questions 3 and 4 ask:

Research Question 3 *What **dimensions** of (non-)interventionist election campaign reporting styles are found using soundbite and metacoverage indicators?*

Research Question 4 *Using the previously identified dimensions, what **types** of (non-)interventionist reporting styles can be found?*

[19] Mm: Section II.5.2 (p. 54) briefly describes the general idea of the analysis with regard to the theory section (while the methodological details are laid out in section III.3, p. 93).

Finally, the last step of the analysis is to relate the identified reporting styles with contextual factors of the media system and the campaign environment. To do so, a QCA is conducted for each reporting style, showing the commonalities as well as differences in cases belonging to each style. Consequently, the research question asks:

Research Question 5 *Which* ***contextual factors*** *of the media system and the campaign environment relate to the reporting styles?*

II.5.3.2 Hypotheses

The hypotheses are situated on different levels of analysis. Hypotheses 1 and 2 must be conducted on an aggregated level of TV channels, while hypotheses 4, 5a and 5b, 6a and 6b, as well as 7 are situated at the lower levels of stories (respectively, statements). The basis of the empirical evidence therefore differs across these theses. Also, there is a certain order in the theses, progressing from a more abstract to a more concrete level.

Firstly, the exploratory analysis by Esser (2008) shows that a sample selection of democratic-corporatist, liberal and polarized-pluralist countries is likely to produce three types of reporting styles with differing degrees of media interventionism and media-centrism identified for each election campaign (see Esser, 2008, p. 423-424). While this study uses additional[20] data and countries, it is likely that a similar typology might be reproduced.[21] Accordingly, hypothesis 1 speculates that the study at hand should also produce a typology comprised of three journalistic election campaign reporting styles:

Hypothesis 1 *The exploratory analysis results in a typology comprising*

[20] Note that there is a data overlap between Esser (2008) and this study: The soundbite data for the French election in 2007 is identical. However, the German, British and US elections are more recent in this study than Esser (2008). Also see Tables III.3 and III.5 (p. 89 and 92).

[21] Finding a comparable typology to Esser (2008) indicates some robustness of the studies, cross-validating Esser (2008). It remains to be seen what the additional metacoverage indicators and the additional countries (i.e., Switzerland and Italy) will contribute. Also, since the elections for Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States are more recent than those investigated by Esser (2008), some modest interpretations concerning the robustness across time can be made by cross-referencing the results from Esser (2008).

three journalistic election campaign reporting styles *similar to those found by Esser (2008).*

As a second hypothesis on the aggregated level of TV channels, Esser (2008, p. 408) deduces an interesting idea (hypothesis 5 in Esser, 2008). The amount of tightly scripted and controlled communication situations is seen as an indicator for campaign professionalization that should correlate negatively with the length of candidate soundbites (which is seen as an indicator for media interventionism). The basic principle states that journalists will react to attempts by politicians and campaign managers to tightly control the situations in which candidates are shown by cutting candidate soundbites down to a minimum. Hypothesis 2 therefore states:

Hypothesis 2 *The more tightly* ***controlled*** *an election campaign, the shorter the candidate soundbites.*

The remaining hypotheses 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b and 7 are situated at lower levels of analysis (mostly story or statement level). They are thus slightly more specific than the theses discussed so far. Firstly, hypotheses 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d and 3e generally refer to the contextual factors. The contextual factors will be tested in the very last step of the analysis, the explanatory QCA (section IV.3, p. 181). Nevertheless, implicit conclusions about these hypotheses are also adequate in the descriptive analysis (section IV.1, p. 103). It has been argued in section II.3 (p. 28) that the liberal media system, privately owned TV channels, expensive campaigns and a prevalence of tightly controlled communication situations are all expected to coincide with a higher amount of interventionism. A biased type of metacoverage should result in medium levels of interventionism. These thoughts are formulated in the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 3a *There is a higher degree of* ***interventionism*** *in* ***liberal media systems*** *than in the democratic-corporatist or polarized-pluralist media systems.*

Hypothesis 3b *There is a higher degree of* ***interventionism*** *in* ***privately owned TV channels*** *than in the public service broadcasters.*

Hypothesis 3c *There is a higher degree of* ***interventionism*** *in* ***expensive election campaigns*** *than in cheaper campaigns.*

Hypothesis 3d *There is a higher degree of* ***interventionism*** *in election campaigns comprising* ***many tightly controlled communication situations*** *than in less "scripted" campaigns.*

Hypothesis 3e *There is a medium degree of* ***interventionism*** *in* ***biased TV channels****.*

Finally, hypotheses 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b and 7 deal directly with some of the soundbite and metacoverage indicators. Studies of metacoverage have consistently shown that media metacoverage is mostly framed in terms of conduit frames, while publicity metacoverage is framed by strategy frames (see D'Angelo et al., 2014, p. 169-170; Esser & D'Angelo, 2003, p. 629; Esser & D'Angelo, 2006, p. 59). This is an intuitive result: Across all media and political environments, journalists tend to present their own role in neutral terms, while they prefer to focus on the strategic intentions when talking about candidates' publicity efforts. Hypothesis 4 therefore states:

Hypothesis 4 *Media metacoverage is constructed using the conduit frame, while publicity metacoverage is framed in strategic terms (across all countries and channels).*

The literature suggests potential differences across countries and media environments. While country differences in news content are likely to be due to different media systems (e.g., Hallin & Mancini, 2004), some authors also suggest that reporting styles might potentially align internationally due to globalization and the diffusion of journalistic norms and practices (e.g., Umbricht & Esser, 2016, 2014; Esser & Umbricht, 2014, 2013). Thus, it

remains an open question whether reporting styles converge across countries over time; however, the cross-sectional design of this study does not allow for evidence on convergence or divergence. Nevertheless, differences across countries are expected with regard to soundbite and metacoverage indicators: It is anticipated that liberal media systems will show a higher prevalence of news content indicative of commercialism and mediatization. Variance is also expected between public and commercially funded TV channels (e.g., Cushion et al., 2012). Public TV channels that are bound to a public-service mandate are expected to show fewer commercialized and mediatized content than their privately funded counterparts. Hypotheses 2a and 2b by Esser (2008, p. 408) can therefore be modified slightly regarding the length of candidate soundbites:

Hypothesis 5a *Candidate* ***soundbites*** *are longer on* ***public*** *than private TV channels.*

Hypothesis 5b *Candidate* ***soundbites*** *are shorter in* ***liberal*** *than democratic-corporatist or polarized-pluralist media systems.*

Similarly, a hypothesis regarding election topics and candidate soundbite content is formulated. Media systems as well as TV channel types (private vs. public TV channels) are again expected to differ. Hypothesis 4 by Esser (2008, p. 408) is the inspiration for the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6a *There are more issue soundbites and policy & polity topics on* ***public*** *than private TV channels.*

Hypothesis 6b *There are fewer issue soundbites and policy & polity topics in* ***liberal*** *than democratic-corporatist or polarized-pluralist media systems.*

Finally the last hypothesis 7 is not directly derived from the literature, but from plausibility regarding the structure of TV newscast stories. It is argued that, overall, journalists and candidates have a similar amount of total speaking time. While candidate soundbites are expected to be shorter than

journalist soundbites, there are many more individual examples of the latter than the former. This is due to the way TV newscasts are constructed: Both the anchor as well as the correspondent will make a few, but long statements, introducing the news item and building up the storyline. The journalist includes candidate statements to enrich the story and underline the general argument brought forward. Consequently, the share of total speaking time by journalists is similar to that of candidates within the same countries.

Hypothesis 7 *Within countries, the overall share of total speaking time by journalists is comparable to the total speaking time by candidates.*

Chapter III

Methods: Measuring Interventionist Reporting Styles

This chapter presents the methodological foundation of this study. To do so, there are four main sections dedicated to the *operationalization* of crucial content analysis indicators (section III.1, p. 63), the *sample* selection of countries, TV channels and news stories as well as the general content analysis *procedures* (section III.2, p. 83), the measurement of *country-level explanatory indicators* (section III.1.3, p. 76) and the general *design of the analysis* (section III.3, p. 93).

III.1 Operationalization of Key Concepts

The following section explains the operationalization of the content analysis indicators. The descriptions are separated by the soundbite (subsection III.1.1, p. 64) and metacoverage (subsection III.1.2, p. 68) projects. Both projects feature a small selection of relevant indicators: The soundbite project relies on simple time measurements of various types of soundbites, complemented by a handful of topical indicators (content of candidate

soundbites, amount of control over the communication situation). For the metacoverage project, election campaign topics as well as metacoverage topics are recorded along with their framing and supplementary proposition-level indicators (script objects and types, focus on left or right candidates and evaluation, source and visual information of metacoverage).

III.1.1 Soundbites: Length, Content and Control

The soundbite content analysis mainly consists of recording the *length* of specific soundbites by specific actors (in seconds). Coders watch TV news stories and time each uninterrupted statement with a stop watch, noting down the speaking time in seconds. The length of soundbites is an indicator for the media-centrism of a TV channel or a specific reporting style: Media-centered reporting styles show shorter and fewer candidate soundbites. Additionally, the *type* of soundbite is coded. The most basic distinction is whether it is a journalist or candidate statement. There are further residual categories for voter and citizen soundbites as well as expert and other soundbites (including other politicians, celebrities and supporters, campaign managers and spin doctors, and so on). Of course, coders must be familiar with the situation and relevant actors in the country they are coding. Furthermore, there are additional distinctions regarding statements from the candidate.[22] A standard, "complete" candidate soundbite (which is referred to as 'candidate soundbite' in this study) requires the candidate to be both seen and heard speaking. It is a direct statement by the candidate shown on TV, altered by the journalists (and thus the media logic) only through video editing and the basic decision to include the statement in the newscast to begin with. For obvious reasons, this is the most important category for this study. A further possibility is that the candidate is heard

[22] Journalist soundbites are initially coded in greater detail, too: Three different categories are present for the anchor in the studio (seen and heard talking, heard but not seen, conversation with correspondent or other journalist) and one category is designated to the correspondent. However, these distinctions are not pursued in the analysis and are thus only mentioned for the sake of completeness.

speaking, but not seen. To give an example for this kind of soundbite, the candidate could be interviewed by phone or a statement he made on radio could be cited and included in the news story. This is referred to as a 'candidate audio bite' in the study at hand. Finally, there are two options for the reversed constellation, i.e., when the candidate is seen, but not heard. If a picture or short clip of the candidate included in a short film or seen somewhere in the studio background, a respective soundbite can be coded. However, if a candidate is actually speaking in the clip shown but not heard (e.g., because there is a voice over by the journalist), a 'candidate image bite' can be noted down.

Of course, the mentioned 'soundbite types' are not only noted down, but the length (in seconds) of each statements is timed and recorded as well. Thus, anticipating some points of the analysis section, there are different ways of calculating the speaking time (mainly candidate and journalist speaking time). The easiest option is to calculate an average for candidate statements and for all the various journalist statements: How long is a typical statement by each actor? But it is not the only option: All speaking times can be summed up to calculate a total speaking time across the whole election campaign coverage (of two months before the election). If this is done separately for all candidate and journalist soundbites, the remaining "unclaimed" time (jingles, introductions, transitions, etc.) can be calculated by checking the difference to the summed story lengths – which is the total time spent by a TV channel on election campaign stories. Accordingly, a relative share of the speaking times (for journalists, candidates and the remaining time) can be created, providing an indicator for the amount of total speaking time each actor is granted in the election campaign coverage (see Table IV.1 and Figure IV.1, p. 106 and 107 in section IV.1.1.1, p. 104). These calculations are mentioned here in order to prepare the reader for the calculations in the analyses, but also to give a better understanding of the aim of this soundbite variable.

Furthermore, some specifications can be made for each candidate soundbite (i.e., soundbites in which the candidate is both seen and heard).[23] Firstly, what the politician talks about is coded into four general options for the candidate soundbite *content*: The value 'issues' represents policy related statements and a candidate's plans and ideas.[24] Candidates can also attack political opponents, or in turn defend themselves from attacks: 'Attack' and 'defense' are the values that are coded in these instances. Finally and most commonly, candidates like to make statements about the campaign itself, about the chances of winning the election, the latest polling numbers, and so on. Such statements are coded with the value of 'campaigning'. Note that this variable measures the content and topic of the candidate statement, but not the news story topic! This is an important distinction for this analysis. The content of candidate soundbites is determined both by what politicians say and also what journalists include in their stories: In that sense, it is an indicator for the specific campaign environment in a given election. Are politicians mainly talking about political issues, or do they attack opponents? What kind of candidate statements do journalists show in news stories? Scarcity of political issues and dominant attack, defense and campaigning statements are indicators of a commercialized context in which actors need to fight for the attentiont of the audience. The last variable measures the amount of *control* candidates exert over the communicative situation (called "news situation" by Esser, 2008, p. 417). There are three possibilities: Candidates can have full control over the situation, for example in campaign rally speeches in which they are speaking mainly in front of supporters and without fear of challenging questions. Then, there are situations that are only partially controlled by the candidates: An example

[23] There are also some additional specifications for image bites, voter & citizen soundbites as well as expert & other soundbites. They are not explained in the explanation as they are not used at all in this analysis. These variables can be found in the coding sheets in the appendix (see section C, p. 330) or the digital codebook (for the descriptions of the digital appendix, see section D, p. 332).

[24] Initially, a further code for 'reaction to news' is available to be coded if unexpected events happen during a campaign and candidates react to them. Compared to the other options, this occurs seldomly and is thus grouped together with 'issues' in all analyses.

is a news conference in which journalists can ask questions, but candidates can also just end the conference and walk out. Finally, there are completely 'uncontrolled' situations, e.g., in a spontaneous interview on the streets. The control over the communicative situation is an indicator for the amount of professionalization in the political campaign management, but also for patterns of topics journalists include in their newscasts. In that sense, it is also part of the campaign environment. Finally, all relevant soundbite variables are summarized in the following list:[25]

- Soundbite **length** in seconds
- Soundbite **type**
  - Journalist soundbites (anchor, correspondent)[26]
  - Candidate soundbites (candidate is seen and heard speaking)
  - Candidate image bites (candidate is seen, but not heard)[27]
  - Candidate audio bites (candidate is heard, but not seen)
  - Voter & citizen soundbites
  - Expert & other soundbites (celebrities, campaign managers, spin doctors, other politicians, etc.)
- **Content** of candidate soundbites (if candidate soundbite)
  - Issues, policies and reactions to news[28]
  - Attacking political opponents
  - Defending oneself against attacks
  - Campaigning and electioneering statements
- **Control** over the Communication situation (if candidate soundbite)

[25] Self-explanatory formal and identifying variables such as the country, TV channel, date, coder, story length and story ID are not listed.

[26] In the initial coding, there are four options for journalist soundbites: The anchor is seen and heard in the studio, anchor is heard in the studio but not seen (e.g., explaining a graph that is shown visually), discussion between anchor and correspondent, and finally the correspondent alone. These differentiations are not important for the research question at hand and are thus always grouped together.

[27] There is an option for still pictures of the candidate too in the initial coding, e.g., on election posters seen in stories or for superimposed pictures of candidates. Superimposed candidate pictures are ignored in this study except for the analysis of total summed speaking time in the whole election campaign TV coverage (see section IV.1.1.1, p. 104 and especially Table IV.1 and Figure IV.1, p. 106 and 107).

[28] Issues are separated from reactions to news in the initial coding process, but brought together in the analysis as the latter category occurs only infrequently.

– Fully controlled communication situations

– Partially controlled and uncontrolled communication situations[29]

The general procedure for the soundbite content analysis is simple. Coders watch the newscasts and enter the codes in a coding sheet (see appendix C, p. 330). One coding sheet is used per news story; most variables are coded at the statement level. Besides formal and identifying variables, the main coding tasks are to time each statement and note down the additional specifications: Who makes a statement and what form does the statement have (soundbite type)? What is the content of candidate statements? In what kind of communicative situations are the candidates shown: Settings in which they control the communicative situations or uncontrollable constellations in which they need to fear awkward questions? Generally, the coding is done statement by statement for each news story. Of course, timing statements necessitates frequent fast-forwarding and rewinding of video clips. It is a slightly cumbersome and repetitive, but very simple coding job.

III.1.2 Metacoverage: Topics, Frames and Scripts

The metacoverage project is slightly more demanding than the soundbite project and necessitates more codings with respect to the content of election campaign news stories. The main variables coded are election topics, metacoverage topics and metacoverage frames. Firstly, *election topics* are central themes that can traditionally be found in election campaign coverage. They have been proven to be distinct and inclusive topics in election campaign reporting: The different topics can be easily differentiated from each other, all categories are meaningful and there are no situations that cannot be coded (a residual category is not even necessary). In that sense, they reproduce the normal topical patterns found in election campaign coverage.

[29] These two codes were separated in the initial coding process. However, they have been grouped together for all analyses as uncontrolled situations occur only seldomly.

Two sets of categories are present for election topics: 'Policy & polity topics' as well as 'process & personality topics'.[30] These two groups can function as indicators for the pattern structures of specific reporting styles: In commercialized and mediatized settings, process & personality topics are more prominent than in a less mediatized context. The metacoverage project also includes the measure of *metacoverage topics*: These are stories that "turn the spotlight inward" (Johnson & Boudreau, 1996) by picking out the actions of the media and the publicity efforts of political actors as central story themes. They focus on political communication itself by reporting and commenting on the presence of journalists and political publicity efforts and the strategic intentions of these actions. Ideally, these metacoverage stories further highlight criticizable aspects of these media-political relations and thus educate the public about the mechanisms of power at work.[31]

If relevant metacoverage topics can be found in a given news story, the coding continues onto the statement level (metacoverage scripts). *Metacoverage scripts* are single statements that make up the metacoverage topic and framing. Firstly, each metacoverage script is classified according to its 'script object' and 'script type'. The script *object* measures the target of metacoverage. It specifies what aspect of media or publicity topics are included in the report. *Media script objects* include a number of categories: 'Individual journalist' is coded if the metacoverage statement focuses on a specific journalist. Similarly, 'media organization', 'new media', 'entertainment' and 'own media' refer to a specific media organization, new media such as blogs or online newspapers, entertainment formats and the broadcasting media organization. These media script objects are grouped into 'journalists &

[30] Initially, the topics are coded in greater detail. Policy & polity topics join the following categories: Electoral and political system, ideology and political worldview, pro- and retrospective evaluation, issues and plans. Process & personality topics consist of the following values: Non-issues and mistakes, personal character, voters and public opinion, electioneering and campaigning. In the analysis, only the grouped topics are applied as the single topics partially show low numbers of cases.

[31] In addition to the election and metacoverage topic itself, the *salience* of each topic is recorded (peripheral, secondary or primary salience). Topics of peripheral salience are not included in the analysis. If no metacoverage topic or only metacoverage topics of peripheral salience are present, the coding is finished at this point.

organizations'. Furthermore, two categories indicate slightly more abstract media script objects: 'The media in general' denotes generalizing statements about basically all media. The 'relationship between media and politics' specifically tackles the rare case that the political communication culture itself is made a central theme of a metacoverage story. These two slightly more abstract categories can be grouped as well ('media in general & relation to politics'). Similarly, there are analogous *publicity script objects*. Firstly, some publicity script objects are concerned with 'ads & marketing': Political advertising in general as well as negative advertisements and political marketing are coded when the advertisements or the marketing efforts of parties and candidates are central targets of metacoverage statements. Furthermore, a second group of publicity script objects is dedicated to 'advisers & PR': Discussion of communication professionals, political PR in general, image management, event management, issue management and negative campaigning are subsumed into this category.[32]

While script objects are concerned with the target of metacoverage statement, metacoverage script *types* specify how the communicative process is framed. Script types are thus grouped according to the metacoverage frames: There are script types for media and publicity conduit, strategy and publicity frames. Firstly, *media conduit script types* include a number of possible codes: 'Media co-orientation' is used if journalists emphasize that other media organizations or products were a source of their story. 'Press presence' is used to designate statements or pictures about the presence of the media and journalists at an event. Furthermore, 'media insiderism' denotes speculative propositions about the inner life of journalists or the internal operations of media organizations. If a journalist (rather than a media organization or product) is the source of a story (e.g., interview with a journalist), 'journalists as sources' is available as a code. Finally, 'self-promotion' is used for cross-promotion and statements about a media

[32] In the analysis, only the two groups for each of the media and publicity script objects are used. The single script objects have a very low frequency.

organization's own programs and polls. 'Story magnitude' represents statements about the amount of coverage an event receives as well as the size of an audience or technical aspects of coverage. Secondly, *media strategy script types* designate strategical intentions behind campaign coverage. 'Dramatization' is used when someone complains about media tendencies towards infotainment, sensationalism and generally market-driven reporting styles. Similarly, 'negativism' denotes appeals against a media organization's tendency towards negativity, conflict, confrontation, and so on. Furthermore, the code 'media bias' represents criticism towards the media for being partisan, unfair, unbalanced and generally biased towards a specific political side. The category 'media as agenda setter' is coded when statements propose that the media show a "wrong" focus, prioritizing unimportant issues (or ignoring the crucial ones). Then, 'attack dog' marks statements about media "feeding frenzy" (cf. Sabato, 1993, 2000), referring, for example, to journalists "hunting" a public figure for alleged misbehavior. Next, statements can describe investigative journalism that seeks the story behind the story: The value 'watchdog' is used for these statements. Finally, 'fall out' refers to potential losses of public image and reputation; 'kingmaker' represents statements about the power of the media to favor and thus foster a specific candidate; and lastly, 'media impact' is used as a residual and general category if vague statements are made about the influence and power of the media. Thirdly, there are two possible *media accountability script types*: 'Educate on the media role' refers to enlightening statements about the backstage processes and institutional rules of the relation between media and politics; and 'self-criticism' is used when journalists make critical statements about their own role and behavior.

Moving to the publicity script types, there is firstly only one category for *publicity conduit script types*: The portrayal of the candidates' publicity efforts as a 'neutral dissemination' of publicity messages and methods. Secondly, *Publicity strategy script types* have more possible options: 'Umpire' is

coded as a general category for statements about the strategic character of publicity efforts (i.e., only if no further specification is possible). All other publicity script types further specify such general propositions: 'Influencing the media' is coded when publicity efforts of candidates are depicted as an intentional effort to persuade and influence the public or the media. If publicity efforts are illustrated as a potent way to communicate political programs, the code 'effective communication of policies' is used. Furthermore, statements can focus on the intention of publicity efforts to convey a favorable reputation; the code 'positive image' is used in such instances. Finally, there are codes for public "feuds" between candidates: 'Defense' marks the focus on defending strategies, while 'attack via media' discusses offensive actions. Thirdly, there are two *publicity accountability script types*, analogous to the two script types for media accountability: 'Educate on publicity' denominates enlightening statements that bring the backstage processes of political communication culture to light, while 'criticize publicity' is used to record instances of criticism towards the publicity efforts of candidates.

Finally, some additional script variables further describe each single metacoverage proposition found in TV news stories. Firstly, the *source of a metacoverage script* simply designates the "sponsor" of a script: The journalist may make metacoverage statements as well as a politician, someone independent ('other / independent'), or the statement may be part of a political advertisement ('script placed in ad').[33] There are two further variables that record whether there is a *connection to a certain candidate* and whether this connection includes any *evaluation of the candidate*. Scripts can be connected to the 'center-left', 'center-right', to 'several candidates', or show 'no connection'. If there is a candidate connection, the coding reflects whether the candidate is portrayed 'negatively' or 'neutrally or positively'. These two indicators show whether there is a systematic focus

[33] In the analysis, only the 'journalist' is used as a dummy variable. Its negation includes all sources that are not journalists.

on one political side or the other in the metacoverage topics of specific TV channels. In that sense, it is also an indicator for a channel's bias towards one or the other side: Metacoverage focuses much more on one candidate than the other. The candidate connection must be combined with the 'evaluation' to shed some light on this fact. Finally, there is one variable designating the *'visual information'* of a metacoverage script. This variable records how the metacoverage script is built up: Is the script only made up by 'audio' information, i.e., actors merely talking about a specific metacoverage aspect? Or is it combined with a visual aspect? If so, is there an 'overlap' between the audio and visual information, or 'no overlap'?[34] Or is the metacoverage script made up of 'visual information only' (e.g., the media conduit scripts are just visual clues)? These additional script variables help to further characterize the nature of a given metacoverage script.

According to the script types present in a news story, coders then need to code the *metacoverage frames* present in a given news story. Up to two metacoverage frames can be chosen per story. The metacoverage frames are direct and holistic measures of the six possible frames (media or publicity 'conduit', 'strategy' and 'accountability' frames): Are the media or the candidates' publicity efforts depicted neutrally, strategically or in an enlightening and judicial way? As with the explanations of the operationalization of relevant soundbite variables (see section III.1.1, p. 64), all relevant variables are summarized in the following list:[35]

- Election **topics**
  - Policy & polity topics[36]
  - Process & personality topics[37]

[34] In the analysis, these two audiovisual categories are joined together.

[35] As before, self-explanatory formal and identifying variables such as the country, TV channel, date, coder, story length and story ID are not listed.

[36] This is a grouped category that originally contained the following election topics: Electoral and political system, ideology and political worldview, pro- and retrospective evaluation, issues and plans.

[37] This is a grouped category that originally contained the following election top-

- Metacoverage **topics**
  - Media metatopics
  - Publicity metatopics
- Metacoverage **frames**
  - Media and publicity conduit frames
  - Media and publicity strategy frames
  - Media and publicity accountability frames
- Metacoverage script **objects**
  - Media script objects: Journalists & organisations[38]
  - Media script objects: Media in general & relation to politics[39]
  - Publicity script objects: Ads & marketing[40]
  - Publicity script objects: Advisers & PR[41]
- Metacoverage script **types**
  - Media conduit, strategy and accountability script types[42]
  - Publicity conduit, strategy and accountability script types[43]
- Metacoverage script **source**
  - Journalist

ics: Non-issues and mistakes, personal character, voters and public opinion, electioneering and campaigning.

[38] This category groups the following original values of media script objects: Individual journalist, media organization, new media, entertainment, own media.

[39] This is a grouped category originally differentiated into the following two media script objects: The media in general, relationship between media and politics.

[40] This category groups the following original values of publicity script objects: Political advertisements in general, negative advertisements, political marketing.

[41] This category groups the following original values: Communication professionals, political PR, image management, event management, issue management, negative campaigning.

[42] Script types are initially coded in greater detail, but can intuitively be grouped into the presented categories. Media conduit script types include: Media coorientation, press presence, media insiderism, journalists as sources, self-promotion, story magnitude, other media conduit script types. The following media strategy script types are coded originally: Dramatization, negativism, media bias, media as agenda setter, attack dog, watchdog, fall out, kingmaker, media impact. Finally, there are two initial media accountability script types: Educate on the media role, self-criticism.

[43] Publicity script types are initially coded in greater detail as well, but can intuitively be grouped into the presented categories. For publicity conduit script types, there is only one category: neutral dissemination. Publicity strategy script types include: Umpire, influencing the media, effective communication of policies, positive image, defense, attack via media. Finally, there are again two initial publicity accountability script types: Educate on publicity, criticize publicity.

  - Politician
  - Other / Independent
  - Script placed in ad

- **Visual** metacoverage information
  - Audio only
  - Audiovisual[44]
  - Visual only

- **Candidate connection** of metacoverage script
  - Script connected to center-left candidate
  - Script connected to center-right candidate
  - Script connected to several candidates
  - No connection

- **Candidate evaluation** in metacoverage script (if there is a candidate connection)
  - Negative evaluation
  - Neutral or positive evaluation

The general proceeding of the metacoverage content analysis is slightly more complex and demanding than the soundbite coding. Coders are also instructed to write down the variables in a coding sheet, using one sheet per news story (see appendix C, p. 330). Firstly, after once again noting down formal and identifying variables, the election topics must be determined. These are still on the level of stories and a selection of up to three different election topics is possible per story. Each topic can also be ranked by its salience (a ranking of peripheral, secondary or primary salience). At least one election topic occurs in every election campaign news story. The next step is to check whether there is any metacoverage, i.e., media and publicity topics. Both metacoverage topics can be coded per story, if both aspects are present. Just as with the election topics, the salience of each metacoverage

[44] The audiovisual category is initially split into two categories: Coders additionally mark whether the audio and visual information overlap or not.

topic can be ranked. If no metacoverage topic is present in the story, the coding ends here.

If at least one metacoverage topic reaches at least secondary salience, metacoverage scripts are coded.[45] They are single metacoverage statements that make up the metacoverage topics and frames together. Firstly, the (media or publicity) script objects must be chosen: What is the target of the metacoverage topic, i.e., what aspect of metacoverage does the news story focus on? Secondly, the script type must be noted. It asks in what sense the script object is framed in terms of metacoverage: How does the news story talk about the script object? Script types are conceptualized along the six metacoverage frames. Furthermore, the source of each script, whether there is a candidate connection, whether the candidate is evaluated positively or negatively, and the visual information are coded. Coders then decide on the basis of the available scripts (especially the script types) what metacoverage frame(s) are present in the story. Up to two metacoverage frames can be coded per story (the frames are story-level variables, just like the topics).

III.1.3 System-Level Explanatory Conditions

The following section discusses the operationalization of the contextual factors (used for the explanatory step of the analysis). The relevant context factors are established in the theoretical justification (section II.3, p. 28). Generally, the context factors are part of two analytical levels: Media structures as well as the campaign environment (cf. Figure II.2, p. 30; the context factors are a modification of the model by Esser, 2008, p. 404). Thus, the explanations are structured along these analytical levels. The detailed design of the analysis is explained afterwards (section III.3, p. 93); see the

[45] All topics reaching only peripheral salience are excluded from the analysis. This is done during the dichotomization of relevant variables as a part of the aggregation (see section B.1.2.2, p. 256): Variables are dichotomized first on statement level across all countries and then aggregated to the level of TV channels in order to be able to combine the two projects. Furthermore, some coders ambitiously code metacoverage scripts even when metacoverage topics reach only peripheral salience. These were recoded during data cleansing (see appendix B.1.1, p. 246).

visualization in Figure III.5 (p. 101) for the specific contextual factors. In addition to the analytical levels of indicators belonging to media structures or the campaign environment, the contextual factors can be divided by the methodological level on which they are measured: Country level and channel level. Consequently, there are four technical "cells" to which explanatory conditions belong: Media structure indicators and campaign environment indicators at the country and channel levels (again, cf. Figure III.5, p. 101).

III.1.3.1 Media Structures

Section II.3 (p. 28) establishes that the *type of media system* as well as the *ownership structure of TV channels* are relevant contextual factors in terms of media structure. These are both indicators describing the institutions and organizations of the countries and channels analyzed in the study at hand. Furthermore, they differ in their measurement methodology: The media system is a variable assigned to countries, while the type of ownership structure (private vs. public channels) must be measured on the level of TV channels.

Looking at the channel level first, the *type of ownership* is a binary variable. TV channels are either public or not. Thus, values of 0 and 1 can be directly assigned to each TV channel following the classification presented in the sampling section (see section III.2.1, p. 84). Additionally, to be able to differentiate the US TV channels slightly better, broadcast channels are included in the set of public TV channels using a disjunction. Doing so enables this indicator to separate the US-American broadcast (ABC, NBC) channels from the cable channels that are also the pure news channels (CNN, FOX). As the QCA results demand a case-oriented interpretation, this "combined" indicator can be disentangled again when interpreting the results. This set is thus dubbed 'public or broadcast channel', with the disjunction signifying that they are either publicly funded or broadcast channels (as opposed to privately funded or cable channels).

Moving on to the country level, the *media system* can be understood

dichotomously, too. Countries belong to a specific media system. However, the literature has long implied that media systems might be a scale rather than a strict binary classification: For example, the famous "triangle" (cf. Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 70) indicates that some countries are more and other countries are less typical for each media system, implying some nuances between specific countries. Similarly, Norris (2000, p. 86) builds her (more modest) graph of media use typology (TV-centric vs. newspaper centric systems) on the basis of two continuous scales (newspaper circulation and TV consumption). Thus, graduation between the systems is implied, too. Brüggemann et al. (2014) and consequently Büchel et al. (2016) operationalize the dimensions identified by Hallin & Mancini (2004) with readily available data, mostly in metric form originally (for the relevant data, please consult Tables B.13 and B.14, p. 295 and 296). These data can be directly adopted in order to measure the various media systems using a continuous scale. Since these indicators are used in the last, explanatory step of the analysis (which is a QCA), the fuzzy set values provided by Büchel et al. (2016, p. 222) can be carried over as they stand. In order not to overload the QCA model with too many conditions, only two specific media systems are used, again connected via a disjunction: The eventual condition measures membership in the press-oriented- or the corporatist media system, essentially connecting the two divided democratic-corporatist systems again (DE, CH and UK are members of this combined set).[46]

III.1.3.2 Campaign Environment

There are campaign environment indicators at both a channel and country level. Looking at the channel level first, two indicators stemming from the content analysis are identified as relevant proxies for aspects of the campaign environment (for the detailed operationalization of the content analysis, see section III.1, p. 63). The *candidate's control of the communication situation*

[46] In fuzzy set logic, a disjunction always returns the maximum value of the two original sets (cf. formula B.19, p. 305 and appendix B.2.2.2, p. 302).

is measured with the soundbite project and recorded for each individual candidate soundbite. As it indicates the type of "news situation" (Esser, 2008, p. 417) in which the candidates present themselves, measuring whether they appear in highly controlled situations with plenty of supporters or in uncontrolled situations in which they might be asked awkward questions, it is a good indicator for the amount of campaign professionalization found in a given country. Highly professionalized campaigns strive for strict control over the communication situations, having the candidate appear where unexpected incident can be avoided. Insistent journalists with an investigative mission that could potentially challenge a candidate with pointed questions are avoided, as the candidate might appear in a bad light. Instead, TV viewers see situations fully controlled by the candidates, frequently with many supporters surrounding and cheering them. In that sense, it is an indicator for how tightly scripted a campaign schedule is and how much "risk" a campaign takes vis-à-vis journalists. On the other hand, there is a journalistic element as well: Journalists still need to include these highly controlled communication situations in their news stories in order for them to be recorded by the indicator. Thus, the variable is aggregated to the level of TV channels, providing different values for each TV channel.

Secondly, another indicator originating from the content analysis is used as a proxy for contextual factors. The metacoverage project measures whether the metacoverage statement has a *candidate connection* for each metacoverage script. This indicator records whether metacoverage scripts refer to one or the other candidate (or party), indicating whether a TV channel focuses on a specific candidate during a campaign period. While such a focus can be positive or negative, a tendency towards one political wing or the other indicates a certain metacoverage bias. In other words, such a situation means that a specific candidate and his actions are examined in terms of metacoverage more often than the other party. In that sense, it is an indicator of media *visibility* bias (cf. Eberl et al., 2017, p. 112) or *coverage*

bias (cf. D'Alessio & Allen, 2000, p. 136) with regard to metacoverage, further highlighting the patterns of media-politics relations found in a given country and TV channel.

Finally, there is a further campaign environment indicator at the country level. The degree of campaign professionalization comprises many different dimensions and indicators (e.g., Tenscher et al., 2012, p. 148); while one aspect is measured using the types of communication situations found in election campaign coverage, the much more mundane dimension of the *relative cost of an election campaign* has not yet been tackled. Using only the expenditure as an indicator is by no means a complete and thorough indicator of campaign professionalization; nevertheless, it is a simple proxy that can be researched effortlessly. For pragmatic reasons, it is thus deemed a good compromise between a highly complex indicator with subdimensions for which actual data is difficult to obtain and an arbitrary expert rating just ranking the relevant countries without a firm basis using real world data. In almost all countries sampled in this analysis, parties are obliged to disclose their expenditures for national election campaigns (in Switzerland, no such law exists). Data for the United States are reported by the Federal Election Commission. For the election campaign of 2008, parties spent a total of 1.8 billion USD (Ingram et al., 2009). In the UK, the parliament directly reports the expenditures of election campaigns (see *Election Expenditure*, n.d.). While the allowed expenses are officially limited to 19.5 million GBP, it is estimated that a total of 31 million GBP was spent by the parties for the 2010 election campaign (see "2015 Election Campaign Officially Begins on Friday", 2014). Furthermore, in Germany, the Bundestag (the German parliament) also publishes the campaign expenditures based on details provided by the parties (e.g., Niedermayer, 2015). During the 2009 election campaign, parties spent more than 60 million EUR (cf. "Wahlkampf kostet Parteien über 60 Millionen Euro", 2009; Maas, 2013). In France, the "Commission Nationale des Comptes de Campagne et des Financements Politiques" is

responsible for collecting and reporting the campaign expenditures. The election campaign of 2007 cost 76 million EUR (see *Publication Générale des Comptes des Partis et Groupements Politiques*, n.d.). Furthermore, in Italy, there is a degree of resentment against a system of political financing that is deemed extremely expensive compared to other European countries. For example, it is estimated that the United Kingdom spends about 25 times less than Italy in reimbursing parties' election campaigns (e.g., "Rimborsi Elettorali ai Partiti: L'Italia è la Più Sprecona d'Europa", 2012). For 2008, it is estimated that roughly 110 million EUR were spent during the Italian campaign (see "Finanziamento Pubblico ai Partiti: Qualche Numero", 2011). Finally, in Switzerland, there is no law forcing the parties to publish their expenditures. Thus, numbers can only be estimated (e.g., according to the amount of advertisements printed). Additionally, the Swiss Social-Democratic Party voluntarily reports their expenses, providing a realistic baseline for the actual expenditures. Estimates range from about 30 million CHF to approximately 42 million CHF (see Amir, 2012; Giusto, 2014; Kneubühler, 2011; Hermann, 2012, p. 23). An estimate of 36 million CHF (the average of 30 and 42 million) is therefore used for the calculations.

Table III.1 (p. 82) summarizes the data used to calculate the relative cost of each election campaign. After the data measuring the cost of each election campaign is collected (in millions of each original currency), they are firstly converted to USD (using July 2015 exchange rates, see *XE Currency Converter*, n.d.) without any adjustment for inflation (in order to offset the differences in time across elections). Next, absolute numbers for each country's GDP (at the time of the election) are collected using World Bank data (see *World Bank Open Data*, n.d.), measured in USD (again, without adjusting for inflation to keep the measures even across the campaign cost and GDP). Since the GDP data are naturally much higher than the campaign cost, the GDP is measured in billions of USD; the relative cost is then calculated by dividing the absolute election campaign cost in millions USD by the absolute

Country	Cost ($\times 10^6$)[a]	Cost \$ ($\times 10^6$)[b]	GDP \$ ($\times 10^9$)[c]	Relative Cost
US 08	1'800 USD	1'800	14'718	0.122
UK 10	31 GBP	48	2'646	0.018
CH 11	36 CHF	37	696	0.053
DE 09	60 EUR	66	3'412	0.019
FR 07	76 EUR	84	2'663	0.032
IT 08	110 EUR	121	2'392	0.051

[a] Original Currency Mio.

[b] Mio. USD (2015), not inflation-adjusted (*XE Currency Converter*, n.d.)

[c] Bn. USD (Election Year), not inflation-adjusted (*World Bank Open Data*, n.d.)

Table III.1: Overview Relative Cost of Campaign

GDP in billions USD.[47] Doing so basically creates a measure of how much parties spend in campaigns compared to the GDP of their country (accordingly, the GDP per capita that weights the GDP by the country population is not fit for this purpose). The United States clearly show the highest relative cost, followed by Switzerland and Italy with results also pointing towards expensive campaigns.

Overall, five conditions are measured. In a QCA, five conditions are still acceptable; with more conditions, the truth tables become rather large and the counterfactual analysis is only of limited value and reliability (cf. appendix B.2.2.3, p. 318). All in all, a good balance between indicators for the campaign environment as well as the media structures found in countries and among TV channels ensures that relevant factors are considered. Table III.2 (p. 83) summarizes the levels, variables, indicators and sources used as explanatory conditions in the last step of the analysis. For the actual data, see Table B.13 (p. 295) in appendix B.2.2.1 (p. 289).

[47] While this results in a value that is not directly interpretable because of the different scales in the denominator and numerator, extremely low values behind the decimal place are avoided and differences across countries can thus still be displayed. This is deemed more important than creating an actual percentage (that would need many digits behind the decimal place to show variance).

		Variable	Indicator	Source
Country Level	Campaign Env.	Rel. *Cost* of Campaign	Campaign Commercialization	Various
	Media Structures	*Press-Oriented* or *Corporatist* Media System	Media System	Büchel et al. (2016)
Channel Level	Campaign Env.	*Control* of Communication Situation	Campaign Professionialism	Content Analysis
		Candidate Connection	Media Bias (Visibility)	Content Analysis
	Media Structures	*Public* or *Broadcast* Channel	Media Ownership	Binary Rating

Table III.2: Overview Explanatory Conditions

III.2 Documentation of the Content Analysis

The following chapter is dedicated to further formal aspects of the content analysis. Firstly, the sampling procedure must be explained and justified (section III.2.1, p. 84). This includes several levels of sampling: Countries must be chosen along with TV channels within these countries. A criterion to select relevant TV news stories is also needed. Some data on the sample itself (number and length of stories, number of soundbites, number of metacoverage scripts) are presented at the end of the first subsection (Tables III.3, III.4 and III.5, p. 89, 90 and 92). Secondly, the chapter deals with the specific content analysis procedures (section III.2.2, p. 91). Both projects are coded on the level of propositions, coding single statements within TV news stories (single soundbites, respectively single metacoverage scripts).

III.2.1 Selecting Cases: Countries, TV Channels and Stories

Comparative analyses demand a great deal of the sampling rationale in a given study (e.g., Hanitzsch & Esser, 2012, p. 504). While sampling is a crucial process in any empirical study, comparative analyses inherently necessitate multi-level sampling decisions based on a "hierarchy of influences" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Countries as well as time periods must therefore first be selected systematically and deliberately. In content analyses, the second step is to select the type of media to analyse: Print, TV, internet, radio, and so on. Furthermore, media organizations and their products must be picked from the chosen media type(s). Finally, criteria defining the sampling procedure for single articles and news stories must be found: Often, specific topics are sampled over a given time period. All sampling decisions should approximate *functional equivalents* across the different layers of comparison: Media (and news story) samples must be comparable across countries (e.g., Wirth & Kolb, 2012; Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 10). The following section explains the sampling process applied in this study. These descriptions are complemented by descriptive statistics defining the eventual sample for the soundbite and metacoverage projects (Tables III.3, III.4 and III.5, p. 89, 90 and 92).

As mentioned, the first decision in a cross-country comparative content analysis is to select relevant *countries*. In order to do justice to the multi-level "hierarchy of influences" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), contextual factors located on the highest level of influences should vary across the countries. This ensures variation in the context and thus the option to compare phenomena in different contextual settings, such as media and political systems. Thus, a common strategy is to compare the coverage across countries with differing media systems. The well-known media system typology by Hallin & Mancini (2004) is a common starting place for

such analyses. Not only is it intuitive, concise and comprehensive, it has recently also been tested empirically (Brüggemann et al., 2014; Büchel et al., 2016). Although four types of media systems have been found, this empirical review of the original theoretical typology shows a further critical advantage for the study at hand: The availability of the operationalization and measurement of the media system dimensions (cf. Brüggemann et al., 2014, p. 1061; Büchel et al., 2016, p. 216). This data can be used in the last step of the analysis that seeks to explain empirical reporting styles. The first sampling decision regarding countries is thus to choose two countries out of each of the three different media types. From a pragmatic point of view, coders speaking German, French, Italian and English can be found easily in Switzerland, given that three of these languages are official Swiss languages and English is very common. Scandinavian countries are thus excluded, although they would have provided a solid baseline as an ideal type of the democratic-corporatist media system (Brüggemann et al., 2014; Büchel et al., 2016). Instead, Germany and Switzerland are chosen from the democratic-corporatist countries. While they show some similarities such as the language and a certain degree of federalism (for data on federalism, see Lijphart, 1999/2012, p. 305-306), they differ in other respects such as the power of the parliament and parties compared to the executive, with Switzerland showing greater degrees of power residing in the parliament (see Lijphart, 1999/2012, p. 305-306). This is mainly a function of the direct-democratic elements found in Swiss polity. Also, the two countries obviously differ substantially in terms of size, with Germany being approximately ten times larger than Switzerland both geographically and by the number of inhabitants. Furthermore, given the languages commonly spoken in Switzerland, Italy and France are self-evident choices for the polarized-pluralist countries. They also show a similar level of federalism that is slightly lower than the values for democratic-corporatist systems, but differ in the power of the parties, with France displaying much more

executive power (see Lijphart, 1999/2012, p. 305-306). Also, they are similar in terms of the number of inhabitants (France is slightly larger geographically than Italy). Finally, the United States of America and the United Kingdom are common choices for the liberal media system, partly because there are fewer countries to choose from than with the other two media systems. While the US is considered an ideal type of the liberal media system, the UK is often considered a hybrid type displaying features of the two European models as well (e.g., Norris, 2009; Humphreys, 2012; Büchel et al., 2016; Brüggemann et al., 2014, p. 1056). The English language is also a pragmatic choice for content analysis. The other four countries are similar in terms of federalism, while the US and the UK are similar in terms of minimal parliamentary power (especially the UK) but the US is much more federal than the UK (see Lijphart, 1999/2012, p. 305-306). These six countries provide a pair of each media system (according to the typology by Hallin & Mancini, 2004) for the sample, allowing comparisons across countries as well as media systems. They further differ in commonly used indicators for the political system, ensuring variation across media and political systems. Thus, it is possible to relate the contextual factors of media systems with empirical election campaign reporting styles.

Secondly, *election campaigns* are common research objects in comparative studies. Elections (in Western democracies) can be considered functional equivalents (e.g., Esser & Strömbäck, 2012b, p. 308): They share the same function of allocating political power and receive prominent media attention across the countries investigated. Consequently, specific election years must be chosen across all countries. Since the study is designed as a cross-sectional analysis, factors across time (i.e., across election campaigns within a given country) should be kept as constant as possible to avoid conflicting independent variables. Thus, election campaigns in the latter part of the first decade of the 21st Century are considered in order to have as little variance in the overall time period as possible. Election

campaigns are always complicated events encompassing a multitude of single incidents and processes. Keeping everything constant across countries is thus unrealistic, but choosing elections from a similar time period at least prevents, for example, a country being considered much more mediatized than other countries just because the election year chosen is at a much later date. Elections ranging between 2007 (France) and 2011 (Switzerland) are therefore selected for the content analysis. The campaigns in between are in 2008 (Italy and United States), 2009 (Germany) and 2010 (United Kingdom).

With regard to the *media sample*, the choice of analyzing TV instead of other media types (such as, for example, newspapers) must be justified first. TV evening news provide a prime example of functional equivalents: It exists in all chosen countries, has a similar length and structure and is highly relevant in terms of audience reach. Furthermore, it is productive to pick more than one TV channel per country in order to avoid conflicting variables between the levels of countries and TV channels. With only one channel per country, it is impossible to agree whether differences found in the (statistical) analysis are due to country or channel factors. Consequently, a public as well as a private TV channel is selected per country. Audience shares are used as a guideline to pick the most relevant public and private TV channel per country (e.g., *Television 2010. International Key Facts*, 2010). Two countries deviate slightly from this pattern, as there are no (significant) private or public channels: In the United States, private channels dominate the TV market. However, a distinction between (traditional) broadcast and (more recent) cable channels is made (ABC, NBC vs. CNN, FOX). In Switzerland, on the other hand, there is no national private TV channel. However, in order to have two cases for Switzerland, two different news shows from the public channel are selected. Consequently, the content analysis investigates the following TV newscasts: In the US, *World News* and *Nightly News* on the broadcast channels *ABC* and *NBC* as well as *Anderson*

Cooper 360° and the *Special Report with Brit Hume* in cable channels *CNN* and *FOX News*; in the UK, the ten o'clock news on *BBC1* and *ITV1* (the BBC1 newscast doesn't have a specific name, on ITV1 all newscasts are called *ITV News*); in Germany, *Tagesthemen* on public broadcaster *ARD* and *RTL Aktuell* on private channel *RTL*; in Switzerland, *Tagesschau* as well as *10 vor 10* (10v10) on public broadcaster *SF1*; in France, *20 Heures* on the public broadcaster *France 2* (F2) and the private channel *TF1* (the newscast has the same name on both channels); finally, in Italy, *TG1* on the public channel *RAI1* and *TG5* on private broadcaster *Canale 5* owned by Silvio Berlusconi (TG stands for "**T**ele**g**iornale").

Finally, *stories* from these news shows must be picked. To do so, a time period prior to the election is selected. The soundbite project demands a more laborious coding process, as all statements must be timed, forcing coders to rewind and fast-forward frequently while coding. Thus, a time period of one month is chosen. Since the metacoverage project is somewhat easier and less time-consuming to code, a time period of two months is deemed adequate. All newscasts in the two months prior to the polling day are therefore taped in their entirety. However, only stories related to the election campaign are of interest. Coders thus had to watch every newscast and code only news stories containing clear references to the election campaign. Stories in TV are sometimes produced in "packages" rather than single stories, e.g., first a taped story by a correspondent, then an in-studio interview with an expert and finally a commentary by another journalist. Such "packages" are especially common in US-American newscasts. The individual parts of these "packages" are coded as separate stories: Changing story formats, new introductions by the anchor, etc. are all good indicators that new stories should be coded.

Some minor sample *adjustments* are applied to balance the numbers of stories across the countries. Official campaign periods differ in length across countries (see Esser, 2008, p. 409); this is less important for the soundbites

Country & Channel		Stories	Journ. Soundbites	Cand. Soundbites	Other Soundbites	Total
US 08	ABC	68	160	413	78	651
	NBC	86	190	537	121	848
	CNN	121	276	477	123	876
	FOX	149	278	642	215	1'135
	Total	424	904	2'069	537	3'510
UK 10	BBC1	157	282	672	241	1'195
	ITV1	185	363	913	163	1'439
	Total	342	645	1'585	404	2'634
CH 11	SRF	51	65	128	161	354
DE 09	RTL	32	47	193	65	305
	ARD	41	55	209	100	364
	Total	73	102	402	165	669
FR 07	TF1	119	160	607	104	871
	F2	156	215	718	192	1'125
	Total	275	375	1'325	296	1'996
IT 08	RAI1	169	196	653	144	993
	Canale5	84	100	533	84	717
	Total	253	296	1'186	228	1'710
Total		1'418	2'387	6'695	1'791	10'873

Table III.3: N of Stories and Soundbites (Sample Description)

project, as only the last four weeks before polling day are analyzed. This keeps the time period constant across countries. All elections investigated are in the final "hot" phase in the last month, so the soundbite time period (and thus story numbers) should be relatively balanced. For the soundbite project, every single story referencing the election was coded in the last four weeks in all six countries. The differing campaign lengths are an issue for the metacoverage project, though: Since the last eight weeks are analyzed for metacoverage, countries with a relatively long campaigning period such as the United States are artificially inflated in terms of story numbers. To keep the numbers comparable, a 50% sample is chosen for the US TV channels. In addition, as the newscasts of the 24-hour newschannels CNN and FOX are one hour long, while all other newscasts are around 30 minutes, CNN

Length (sec.) of...		N	Min.	Max.	Sum	Mean	Std. Dev.
US 08	... Story	424	16	446	75'272	177.5	99.4
	... Soundbite	3'510	1	158	56'987	16.2	18.4
UK 10	... Story	342	12	412	44'444	130.0	75.9
	... Soundbite	2'634	1	156	44'612	16.9	20.9
CH 11	... Story	51	57	295	8'578	168.2	64.9
	... Soundbite	354	2	120	5'544	15.7	12.5
DE 09	... Story	73	30	420	12'083	165.5	64.8
	... Soundbite	669	1	146	8'636	12.9	16.5
FR 07	... Story	275	12	420	30'812	112.0	51.9
	... Soundbite	1'996	1	156	24'230	12.1	14.1
IT 08	... Story	253	23	412	27'703	109.5	49.1
	... Soundbite	1'710	1	117	24'075	14.1	12.6
Total	... Story	1'418	12	446	198'892	140.3	80.4
	... Soundbite	10'873	1	158	164'084	15.1	17.4

Table III.4: Soundbite and Story Length (Sample Description)

and FOX news stories were reduced by a further 50%, resulting in an overall 50% sample for the broadcast channels ABC and NBC, a 25% sample for the cable channels CNN and FOX and a full 100% sample for all other countries. These measures ensure a more even distribution of stories across the countries, giving the sample better balance. However, the democratic-corporatist countries Switzerland and Germany still display considerably fewer stories than the polarized-pluralist (Italy, France) and liberal (United States, United Kingdom) countries. Tables III.3, III.4 and III.5 (p. 89, 90 and 92) indicate the final numbers of stories and statements (soundbites, respectively metacoverage scripts) as well as the overall, average, minimum and maximum length of all analyzed news stories, or all soundbites.

Looking at Table III.3 (p. 89) first, we can see the number of soundbites as well as stories coded for the *soundbite project*. In total, 10'873 soundbites were coded in 1'418 stories. Candidate soundbites are roughly three times as frequent as journalist soundbites in all countries. The highest number of

news stories as well as soundbites is found in the United States, the lowest in Switzerland. The values of soundbite and story lengths are indicated in Table III.4 (p. 90). In total, 198'892 seconds of election campaign coverage were coded (slightly more than 55 hours), containing 164'084 seconds of soundbites (approximately 82.5% of the total election campaign coverage analyzed and almost 46 hours). Overall, stories are about two minutes and 20 seconds long on average, while the average soundbite is about 15 seconds. Italy shows the shortest average story length (approximately 110 seconds), while the United States show the longest (ca. 178 seconds).

Finally, Table III.5 (p. 92) displays the sample description for the *metacoverage project*. The numbers are slightly higher: 1'707 stories were coded in total. In those news stories, 5'668 metacoverage scripts could be identified, with France showing by far the greatest and Switzerland by far the least number of scripts. The total length of election campaign coverage is 236'974 seconds (almost 66 hours), with an average story length of 138 seconds. The shortest and longest average story lengths are again found in Italy (108 seconds) and the United States (182 seconds) respectively. Overall, 3'394 topics and 1'068 metacoverage frames are coded, accounting for roughly two topics and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a frame per story.[48]

III.2.2 Proceeding of the Content Analysis

Having taped all the news stories, coders must be trained in order to ensure reliable data collection. To do so, student coders are schooled by the team of researchers (Frank Esser and Florin Büchel) using original material from the actual campaigns to be coded until satisfactory levels of coder agreement are reached. All coding decisions are recorded manually on a coding sheet specifically designed for each project (see appendix C and D, p. 330 and 332). These coding sheets are very helpful when completing

[48] Note that these numbers are describing all stories sampled, not only those showing metacoverage.

	N				Story Length (sec.)				
	Stories	**Scripts**	**Topics**[a]	**Frames**[b]	**Min.**	**Max.**	**Sum**	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**
US 08	418	1'614	911	315	13	713	76'233	182.4	124.7
UK 10	388	954	599	93	12	1'201	51'887	133.7	92.7
CH 11	53	146	85	12	20	294	8'868	167.3	72.6
DE 09	68	213	130	34	28	667	12'012	176.6	91.3
FR 07	496	2'225	1'201	516	7	656	57'345	115.6	72.0
IT 08	284	516	468	98	23	412	30'629	107.8	45.6
Total	1'707	5'668	3'394	1'068	7	1'201	236'974	138.8	94.6

[a] Up to five topics possible per story (three election- and two metacoverage topics)

[b] Up to two frames possible per story

Table III.5: N of Stories and Scripts, Story Length (Sample Description)

the data cleansing, as unclear and invalid values can be looked-up in the original coding sheets. Coders must also decide during the coding process whether stories are relevant (i.e., related to each specific election campaign) and are to be included in the analysis. Both projects are inherently designed to investigate single statements and are thus both coded on a proposition level (soundbites, metacoverage scripts). A filter variable identifying the first soundbite or script per story is used to differentiate the analytical levels. Both projects also contain formal and identifying variables that are coded first: Coder, TV channel, country, a sequential number, the date and the length of each newsstory. The projects require the relevant politicians (mainly the candidates) to be identified and codified for each election. These values thus change across election campaigns (within countries).

Soundbites Statements are systematically analyzed one by one. The coding sheet (see appendix C, p. 330) provides plenty of space for all possible types of soundbites. Coders can thus switch between the different types that are presented as "blocks" on the coding sheet. Some variables are only coded for specific "bites", such as the content and control of candidate soundbites.

Metacoverage In the metacoverage coding sheet (appendix C, p. 330), an arrow indicates the suggested order of coding the project. Firstly, election (up to three topics) and metacoverage topics (up to two topics) as well as their salience must be coded at the story level. Then, if metacoverage topics with at least secondary salience are present, the coding moves onto the level of metacoverage scripts (coding every single statement or visual cue related to metacoverage). Plenty of space is available on the coding sheet to record the single scripts. For each metacoverage statement or cue, the metacoverage script object, script type, script source, candidate connection and -evaluation as well as the visual information are coded. Based on these script objects and types, coders decide what metacoverage frames are present in a given news story (up to two frames).

III.3 Design of the Analysis

In the following section, the design of the analysis is described in detail. The general strategy and aim of the main analysis has been anticipated in sections II.4.3, II.5.2 and II.5.3 (p. 40, 54 and 56).[49] A detailed documentation and explanation of the methodological details is provided in appendix B.2 (p. 259).

The *aim* of the main analysis follows typical research goals in comparative inquiries: Description, classification and explanation of a given phenomenon (see Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 10-11). More precisely, this study extracts various journalistic campaign reporting styles and then relates them to contextual factors of the countries' media systems and the campaign environment. In order to achieve this, some basic parameters are described separately for the soundbites- and metacoverage projects (section IV.1, p. 103); the analysis classifying and explaining the typology then

[49] The results of the exploratory and explanatory analysis can be found in sections IV.2 and IV.3 (p. 149 and 181); section IV.1 (p. 103) reports the descriptive parameters for both projects.

proceeds in three steps: (1) Firstly, a correspondence analysis is applied to identify the key *dimensions* of reporting styles (subsection III.3.1, p. 95; results in subsection IV.2.1, p. 149); (2) secondly, a cluster analysis is then calculated using the identified dimensions in order to create variables describing the actual *types* of reporting styles (subsection III.3.2, p. 97; results in subsection IV.2.2, p. 163); and thirdly (3), the models of the typology extracted in the first two steps are explained using Qualitative Comparative Analysis (subsection III.3.3, p. 100; results in subsection IV.3, p. 181). A visualization of this three-step process is given in Figure III.1 (p. 95). The main analysis thus consists of an exploratory part called "typology building" (steps one and two: Correspondence- and cluster analysis first identifying the dimensions and types of reporting styles) and an explanatory part labelled "explaining the typology" (step three: QCA to relate the reporting styles to contextual factors at the analytical levels of countries- and channels).

The proposed research design is a unique combination of methods and aims typically found in comparative research (e.g., Vliegenthart, 2012, p. 492-493; Hanitzsch & Esser, 2012): In addition to basic *descriptions*, a major aim of comparative research (e.g., Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 10) is the *classification* of cases, i.e., building typologies. This is tackled with the first exploratory step, the identification of typology dimensions and models. *Explanation* of phenomena, i.e., explaining the previously found classifications, is a further main research goal in comparative studies (e.g., Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 11). The second explanatory step of the analysis deals with this by applying QCA. In that sense, the research design is sequential and builds on these major steps to triangulate the various aims and methods used. In that sense, it is a mixed methods approach in which each individual method informs and improves the others. Methodologically, the individual steps carefully consider the issue of small- to middle-N samples, a problem commonly found in comparative research (e.g., Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 13-15; Vliegenthart, 2012, p. 492). All the applied methods are capable

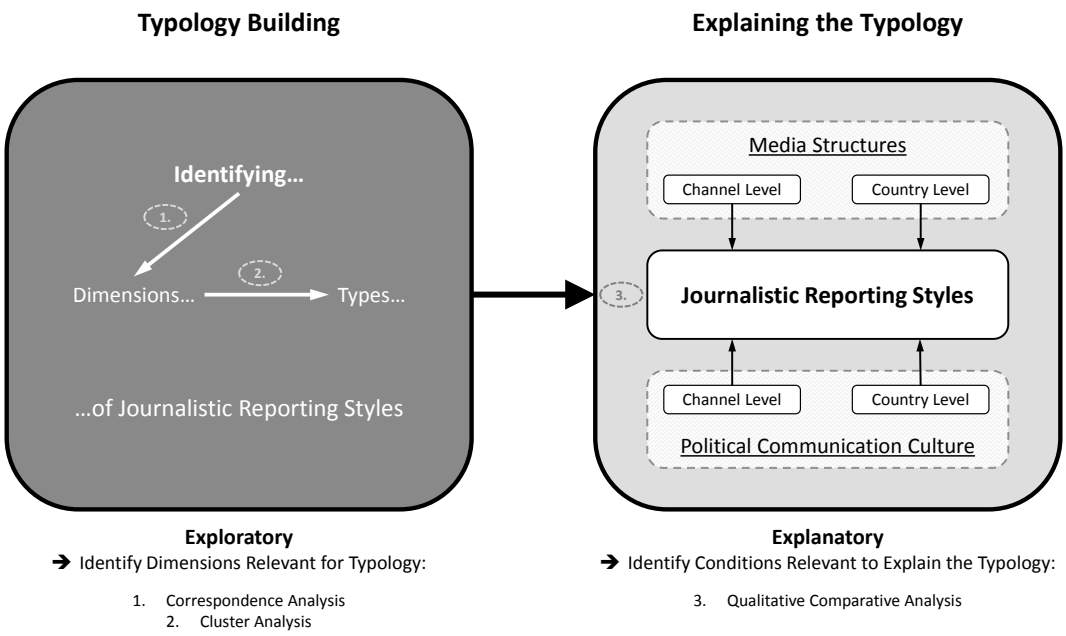


Figure III.1: Design of the Analysis

of handling this issue well and of turning it into an advantage by offering case-oriented interpretations.

III.3.1 Indicators and Dimensions of Reporting Styles

A first *descriptive step* provides an overview and summary of the most important variables. All steps of the exploratory and explanatory analysis must be calculated on an aggregated level using TV channels as units of analysis, because it is impractical to combine the two different election campaign projects on any lower level. While they analyze the same elections in the same countries, merging the data on a story basis would be a huge undertaking and would also result in loss of information for various reasons: For example, the soundbite project only considers one month before the election, the metacoverage project two months – meaning that the complete second month only coded for the metacoverage project would be lost. Furthermore, the sampling of stories is not consistent across the two projects, since combining them was not part of the initial remit. Thus, it is necessary to provide a descriptive overview of the crucial variables

individually for each project, allowing the data to be reported at low levels of analysis such as stories and propositions. This also allows the respective results to be compared to previously published soundbite and metacoverage studies. Section IV.1 (p. 103) is dedicated to these descriptive analyses and functions as a pre-study, thus gaining an overview of key variables before commencing the main analysis. For both projects, the main research question is whether differences are greater across countries or channel types (private vs. public channels), or whether there is any interaction between these two factors. Consequently, besides providing descriptive statistical parameters, analyses of variance (ANOVAs) using the country and channel type as factors are calculated for all variables. This helps to evaluate the degrees of difference found in the data and the significance of the respective patterns, thus providing useful insights needed to interpret the subsequent analytical steps.

The inspection of the basic descriptive parameters of both soundbite and metacoverage indicators is the first step in the process of identifying relevant indicators and dimensions of reporting styles. Subsequently, an exploratory method suitable for typology building (classification) is needed. Such a task always encompasses both the identification of typology *dimensions* as well as typology *models*. Figure III.2 (p. 97) visualizes the intent of creating meaningful dimensions that map the underlying mechanisms. For a simple example showing two dimensions, the dimensionality is represented by the axes in the two-dimensional XY plot.

Usually, factor analyses are applied for such tasks: They reduce relatively high numbers of initial variables to fewer "factors" that are characterized by the corresponding initial variables. However, factor analyses make significant demands on the data, such as high numbers of cases (ca. 30 cases for each initial variable) and metric data, both prerequisites that are scarce in this study. After aggregation, there are only 14 cases (TV channels) and virtually all variables (except the various forms of 'soundbite length') are

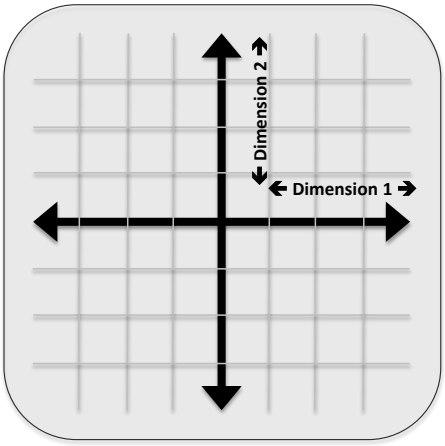


Figure III.2: Dimensions of a Typology

categorical (or dummy variables). Luckily, there is a method that is able to work with the data to hand: Correspondence analysis. It works on the basis of contingency tables and can process high numbers of variables, even if there are only a few cases. The application of this method is the first step in the main analysis.[50] Its aim is to identify *dimensions of journalistic reporting styles*, i.e., a reduced set of variables that describe the basic patterns of reporting styles found across the countries. The method is explained and documented in great detail in appendix B.2.1.1 (p. 260). For the results of this first step, see section IV.2.1 (p. 149).

III.3.2 From Dimensions to Models of Reporting Styles

The correspondence analysis provides variables describing the dimensionality of the reporting styles, but that is not the same as the actual "models" of the desired typology. The models must take the "clusters" of cases into account that are identified by looking at the placement of each case on *each* dimension together, not separately. Each dimension could be explained separately in an explanatory analysis, but that would only explain the

[50] Note that a factor analysis is applied and reported briefly in order to both cross-validate the exploratory analysis and identify differences from and advantages of the correspondence analysis (see section IV.2.3.2, p. 177 and appendix B.2.1.3, p. 283 for the methodological details).

dimensions and not the models for this specific reason: Models only arise when taking all dimensions into account. Figure III.3 (p. 98) exemplifies the process: While the correspondence analysis maps the dimensionality of a typology (see Figure III.2, p. 97), the cluster analysis groups the cases according to their placement in the scatter plot (representing the typology's dimensions).

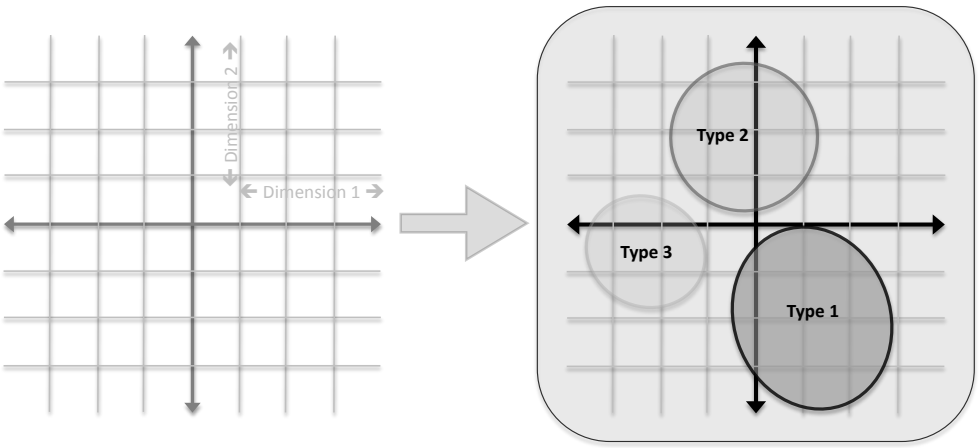


Figure III.3: Models of a Typology

Thus, a second step in the main analysis is dedicated to creating variables which describe the patterns found when locating all cases on the dimensions. Cluster analysis is such a method and its demands on the data are much less than factor analysis. K-means cluster analysis is perfect for this application: If the correspondence analysis works as it should, several "clusters" of cases should be visible upon inspecting the XY plot. By applying k-means cluster analysis, it is possible to enforce a solution with the precise number of clusters. It is a very simple application of cluster analysis: Only the few dimensions found in the correspondence analysis are used and the required number of clusters is set in advance by the researcher (based on the results of the correspondence analysis). Basically, it is merely a tool to create a variable describing the "belonging" of each case to each "cluster", i.e., a measure of proximity to the various models of reporting styles. These are calculated using Euclidean distances from each case to each cluster center.

Each step in this analysis is explained and documented in great detail in appendix B.2.1.2 (p. 278). The results of this second step are discussed and interpreted in section IV.2.2 (p. 163).

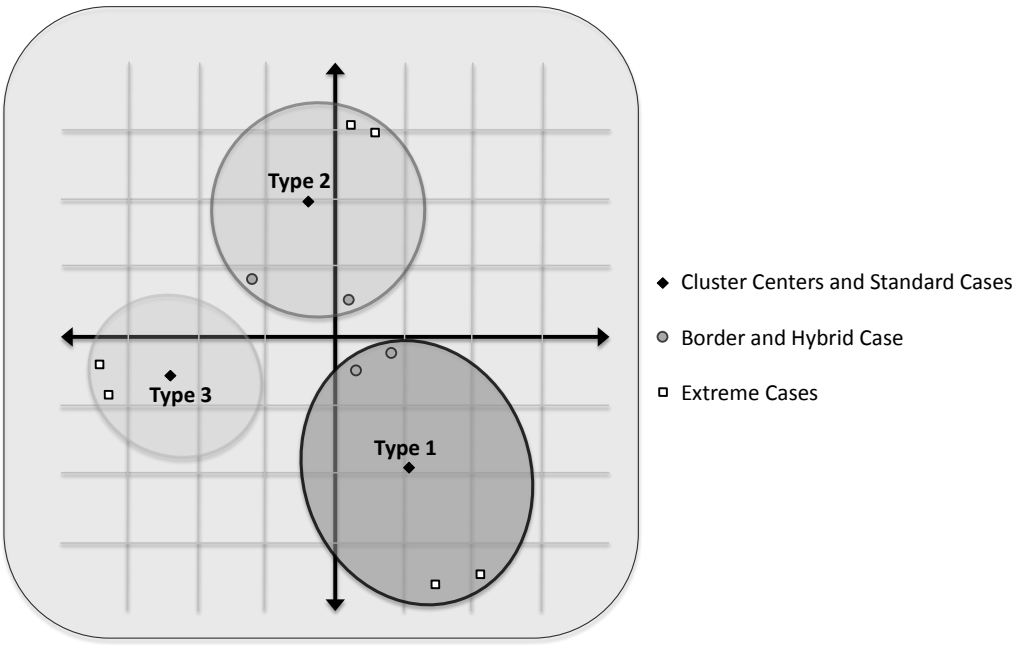


Figure III.4: Types of Cases in Typology

Finally, as has been mentioned, the (variable-based) analysis must also present some case-oriented interpretations in order to take full advantage of the middle-N sample available (also see the explanations in section II.5.2, p. 54). Figure III.4 (p. 99) visualizes the *three types of cases* possible in each typology model: The cluster centers as well as cases typical for the model are located towards the "center of mass" of each type. Since the cluster centers can be precisely placed in this type of graph, typical cases can be identified by checking their "closeness" to cluster centers (or by comparing the precise Euclidean distances to the cluster center). These are average cases that are not ideal examples of the type but relatively coherent in the sense that they show little elements of other models. Furthermore, borderline and hybrid cases are located at the edges of types, bordering further models (towards the axes of the plot). These cases are borderline or even true hybrid cases (showing up in several models), they share aspects of both respective types.

Finally, extreme cases are also located further away from the cluster centers, but in the direction of the end points of the X and Y dimensions (towards the edges of the graph). They fully represent the characteristics that make up the respective models. Case-oriented interpretation of the exploratory analysis by describing cases as typical, bordering other types or extreme examples is a productive approach that should not be overlooked – even in rather variable-oriented methods such as cluster analysis.

III.3.3 Explaining the Models of Reporting Styles

Finally, the models are related to contextual factors at the county- and channel levels. Indicators regarding the media system and campaign environment of the analyzed countries and elections are used for this last step. Thus, the outcomes here are the Euclidean distances to the cluster centers calculated in the cluster analysis. For this step, QCA is applied. It is the perfect method for this task: Firstly, typologies are inherently set theoretic in their mode of thinking; secondly, the "back and forth" (Ragin, 2000; Schneider & Wagemann, 2010) between analysis and interpretation encountered in good QCAs supports the idea of individual, case-sensitive interpretation; thirdly, the configurative nature of QCA necessitates causal complexity, for example expressed in equifinality and multifinality, i.e., the idea that the same "solution path" can lead to different outcomes and vice versa, that different "solution paths" can lead to the same outcome. It is a type of asymmetric causality that is very affine to qualitative analyses, but also to models found in internationally comparative studies such as "most similar" and "most different systems designs" that go back to thoughts by Mill (1843). Application of QCA is sometimes suggested (e.g., Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012, p. 14; Vliegenthart, 2012, p. 493; Hanitzsch & Esser, 2012, p. 505-506), but it is still rarely used in media and communication sciences (for some notable exceptions, see Büchel et al., 2016; Humprecht, 2016; Russi et al., 2014; Humprecht & Büchel, 2013; Brüggemann & Kleinen von

Königslöw, 2013; Downey & Stanyer, 2010, 2013; Stanyer, 2013; Nguyen Vu, 2010). The method is thus explained in great detail in appendix B.2.2 (p. 288), discussing both the basis of Boolean algebra, its epistemological implications, the application using "crisp-" and "fuzzy sets" as well as completely documenting all empirical steps in the analysis at hand. The results of this final analytical step are found in section IV.3 (p. 181).

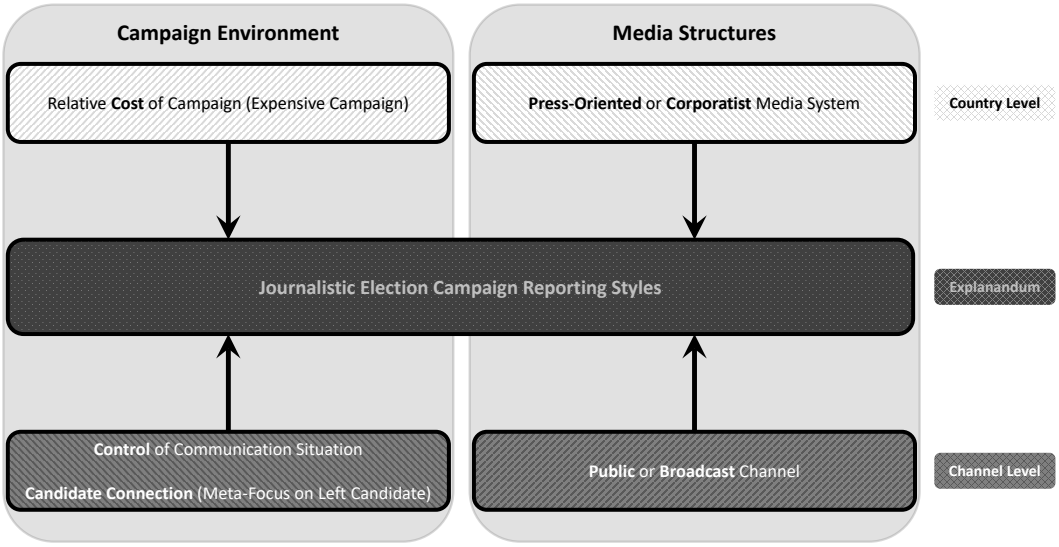


Figure III.5: Explanatory Conditions for Reporting Styles

Figure III.5 (p. 101) shows the conditions used in the QCA. Indicators are categorized into variables describing media structures or the campaign environment and into two levels of analysis (country vs. channel level). Plenty of examples for relevant contextual factors can be found in the literature (e.g., Esser & Strömbäck, 2012a,b), but it is obviously not feasible to simply include all variables that can be found in an explanatory analysis. Indicators for each type of contextual setting (e.g., political and media systems, cultures, professionalism, etc.) should be chosen carefully and judiciously in order not to overspecify the explanatory models. The rationale behind these proxies is explained in section II.5.2 (p. 54). For the operationalization of all explanatory conditions, see section III.1.3 (p. 76).

Chapter IV

Analysis: Investigating Interventionist Reporting Styles

The analysis chapter consists of three sections, each providing the basis for the following section. It follows the design of the analysis as laid out in section III.3 (p. 93). Firstly (1), section IV.1 (p. 103) is concerned with basic *descriptive* analyses of the main content analysis indicators. This first part is completed at the non-aggregated levels of analysis (TV stories, single metacoverage scripts and soundbites) and thus separately for the two content analysis projects. These basic parameters of the main indicators help to assess the importance and cross-country variation of single variables. Based on this, section IV.2 (p. 149) is secondly (2) concerned with the *exploratory analysis (classification)* with the intent of building up a typology of journalistic reporting styles in election campaigns. This section is split into two analyses: The correspondence analysis (section IV.2.1, p. 149) identifies the main dimensions of the typology, on which the subsequent cluster analysis calculates scales for the typology models (section IV.2.2, p. 163). Finally (3), section IV.3 (p. 181) is concerned with the *explanation* of the reporting style typology. This analysis uses QCA to relate each

reporting style type to key contextual factors such as the media structures or campaign environment in a country and election campaign.

IV.1 Metacoverage and Soundbites: Some Basic Parameters

Before exploring the detail of the main analysis of identifying and explaining various journalistic election campaign reporting styles, several of the key soundbite and metacoverage variables are discussed in this section. The aim is twofold: On the one hand, these parameters help to describe the basic samples present in the study and thus provide an initial overview of the patterns in the investigated countries and channels. On the other hand, all further analyses combine the two projects and do so in an aggregated way at the channel level. This is due to the fact that matching the data sets at the story level is not feasible. Thus, the *descriptive analyses* provide crucial insights into specific data details at the story and proposition-level. Accordingly, the analyses are applied across countries and channels, calculated at the story and proposition level (i.e., single soundbites or single metacoverage scripts), but separately for the two projects. The main research question is whether the data indicate stronger differences between countries or between channels (private vs. public TV channels). This question is investigated by calculating two-way ANOVAs for the variables reviewed below through a comparison of the countries, the channels (private vs. public) and their interaction. Since the number of cases is very high in both individual projects, almost any parameter reaches significance. Thus, the interpretation of the effect sizes ($\bar{R}^2$ and η_p^2) is more crucial than the levels of significance. Also, these ANOVAs should not be considered as tests of hypotheses, rather they quickly help to gain an overview of the most important differences between countries and channels available in the data.

As in the rest of the study, the soundbite project is discussed first.

Note that the basic parameters describing just the sample (number and length of stories, number of soundbites, etc.) have already been discussed in section III.2.1 (p. 84); see Tables III.3, III.4 and III.5 (p. 89, 90 and 92) specifically.

IV.1.1 Soundbites

Three groups of indicators are key soundbite concepts which are the main point of focus. Obviously, the soundbite lengths by different actors, mainly journalists and political candidates, are core variables. Furthermore, some variables specifying the nature of candidate soundbites are important: The content of candidate soundbites, i.e., what candidates frequently discuss; finally, the degree of control the candidates assume in typical campaign situations. The hypothesis that candidates exerting high levels of control over their own communication situations will provoke reactions by journalists in the form of shortened candidate soundbites is tested in this section as well (hypothesis 2, p. 59).

IV.1.1.1 Soundbite Length

The length of individual soundbites is the most crucial concept in the soundbite project. The juxtaposition contrasting the speaking time of journalists vs. the speaking time of political candidates is a fundamental element of the project. However, there are different ways of looking at it. The first consideration is the share journalist and candidate soundbites have in the overall time of campaign coverage. To investigate this, the length of all candidate- and journalist soundbite lengths, as well as all story lengths, are totaled.[51] Then, the share of journalist and candidate soundbites in the total overall reporting time is calculated (using simple division). The remaining time con-

[51] Of course, the story length is a variable on story level, while the soundbite lengths are proposition-level variables. Accordingly, the data set had to be filtered so that only story-level cases remain to calculate the total story length. Please also note the respective explanations in sections III.1 (p. 63) and B.1 (p. 245).

sists of other soundbites (e.g., expert soundbites, voter soundbites, etc.), but also TV time in which no one is speaking, as well as jingles, transitions, and so on. After that, the average soundbite length of key actors is discussed.

Sum of Soundbite Lengths Table IV.1 (p. 106) lists these data. The proportions are expressed in three different values: Firstly, "SB Length in Sec." indicates the sum of the three clusters of soundbites (and the rest of the remaining time); secondly, the percentages in the next three columns of the table report the actual shares; finally, an "affinity" index has been calculated. This indicator compares the percentages of single groups to the percentages of the complete sample. It does so by dividing the share of individual cases in specific variables by the same share of the whole sample. The resulting value is then multiplied by 100. This provides an indicator which allows a quick evaluation of whether a specific case is above (values > 100) or below average (values < 100) compared to the whole sample.

It is worth noting that overall, the three different lengths are rather evenly spread. In total, journalist soundbites show a share of roughly 32%, the candidates approximately 37% and the remaining time is another 31%. The values are very close to a third of the complete campaign coverage devoted to each group. There is only one case in the data which is even closer to perfect equal distribution, namely the overall shares in the US. Looking at the ratio of candidates' shares and journalists' shares within single countries, it is interesting to note that they are also very similar within each country. Furthermore, it is striking that Italy has the highest share in candidate soundbites, while British journalists grant themselves the highest overall share of journalist soundbites across the countries investigated.

Looking at the values of the affinity index, three distinct groups can be identified. Firstly, Italy is its own group showing high above-average values for candidate soundbites. The relationship is especially pronounced in Canale5, the private Italian TV channel. Furthermore, there is a big group

Country & Channel		SB Length in Sec.			SB Length in %			SB Length Affinity		
		Journalists	Candidates	Rest	Journalists	Candidates	Rest	Journalists	Candidates	Rest
US 08	ABC	4'334	5'233	1'004	41.0%	49.5%	9.5%	128	134	31
	NBC	4'855	5'572	2'145	38.6%	44.3%	17.1%	121	120	55
	CNN	7'271	7'513	13'179	26.0%	26.9%	47.1%	81	73	151
	FOX	8'187	7'024	8'955	33.9%	29.1%	37.1%	106	79	119
	Total	24'647	25'342	25'283	32.7%	33.7%	33.6%	103	91	108
UK 10	BBC1	10'402	8'192	5'074	43.9%	34.6%	21.4%	138	94	69
	ITV1	9'786	10'251	739	47.1%	49.3%	3.6%	148	134	11
	Total	20'188	18'443	5'813	45.4%	41.5%	13.1%	142	112	42
CH 11	SRF	1'734	1'116	5'728	20.2%	13.0%	66.8%	63	35	214
DE 09	RTL	1'123	1'468	1'866	25.2%	32.9%	41.9%	79	89	134
	ARD	2'544	1'921	3'161	33.4%	25.2%	41.5%	104	68	133
	Total	3'667	3'389	5'027	30.3%	28.0%	41.6%	95	76	134
FR 07	TF1	2'775	5'043	5'460	20.9%	38.0%	41.1%	65	103	132
	F2	4'056	6'246	7'232	23.1%	35.6%	41.2%	72	96	132
	Total	6'831	11'289	12'692	22.2%	36.6%	41.2%	69	99	132
IT 08	Rai1	4'707	7'017	4'650	28.7%	42.9%	28.4%	90	116	91
	Canale5	1'719	6'883	2'727	15.2%	60.8%	24.1%	48	164	77
	Total	6'426	13'900	7'377	23.2%	50.2%	26.6%	73	136	86
Total		63'493	73'479	61'920	31.9%	36.9%	31.1%	100	100	100

Table IV.1: Shares of Journ. and Cand. Soundbites (Descriptives)

of cases basically showing the highest affinity values for the remaining time. Switzerland shows an extremely high above-average value for the remaining time. In Switzerland, this is partly due to the unique voting system in which there are no "actual" candidates (for an overview, e.g., A. Gottwald, 2014; Eberle, 2007). Crucial parts of the campaigning are taken over by Swiss party presidents rather than actual candidates for the "Bundesrat", who will automatically count as other soundbites, comprising experts and all other remaining soundbites such as other politicians, celebrities, spin doctors, supporters and so on. However, Germany, France and to some degree FOX and CNN also belong to this group. Finally, four cases have

only a small amount of remaining time and a more or less even split between candidate and journalist soundbites, but especially high shares for the journalists: The two British channels as well as the US broadcast channels ABC and NBC. Apart from this distinction between US broadcast and cable channels (and minor differences between the channels within Germany and Italy), there is little proof for crucial differences between channels within countries: The differences across countries appear to be much bigger, indicating that campaign coverage is shaped by country context rather than TV channel ownership structures.

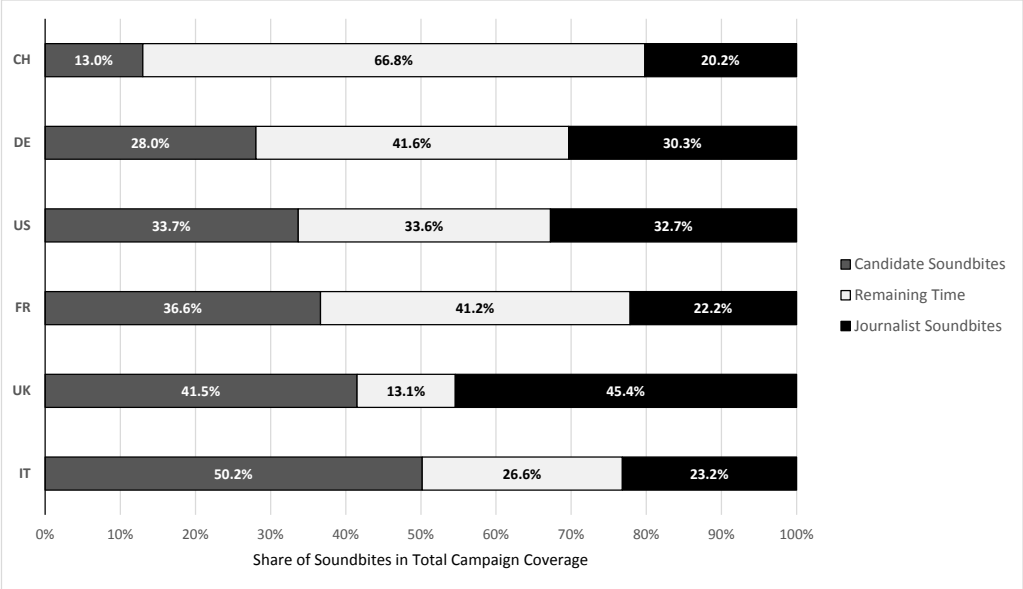


Figure IV.1: Share of Soundbites in Total Coverage (Descriptives)

The various shares are shown in Figure IV.1 (p. 107). The order of countries is sorted by the share of candidate soundbites. Italy and the UK are once again of particular note as the two countries with the highest shares of candidate soundbites (IT) or journalist soundbites (UK). It is worth noting that the UK has a relatively high value for both types of soundbites, unlike all other countries. As far as the share of candidate soundbites is concerned (and ignoring the UK), Italy is closely followed by France which also has a comparable volume of journalist soundbites. Thus, looking at the shares instead of the affinity index, the two Southern European countries

can be considered similar. A further group shows an almost perfectly even distribution between all three types of shares. As has been mentioned, the US has a strong affinity to this category as well as Germany to a lesser degree. That leaves only Switzerland with very few soundbites and a large volume of remaining time. A further assessment of the UK shows that it must be considered as a hybrid type combining the patterns found in US-American and Southern European channels.

Average Soundbite Length Of course, the totals for the total speaking time of journalists and candidates are not the only relevant indicators. A further important calculation is the average soundbite length, indicating how much time a standard statement is granted in TV campaign coverage. For this analysis, the lengths of all soundbite types are reported to obtain detailed insights into the reporting styles. The data is found in Table IV.2 (p. 109).

Average vs. Summed Soundbite Length The first notable feature here is that the average length of candidate soundbites is much shorter than the average length of journalist soundbites across all countries. There is only one instance where the average candidate soundbite is longer than journalist soundbites: The Berlusconi-owned Italian channel Canale5. The fact that journalist soundbites are usually shorter than those of politicians is not surprising, since overall the journalists inherently need more time than any other actors present in the news in order to build up the story, present the most important facts and developments in the introduction, wrap everything up at the end of a story, and so on. On the other hand, expert and voter soundbites often come close in length to the average candidate soundbite. This is an indicator that all actors are given similar amounts of time before journalists will edit the respective soundbites.

Before having a detailed look at some of the ANOVAs comparing the lengths of the various types of soundbites, this result should be examined

Country & Channel		Average Soundbite Length in Sec.				
		Journal-ists	**Candi-dates**	**Image-bites**	**Voters & Citizens**	**Experts & Others**
US 08	Private Channel	27.3	12.1	9.6	11.1	13.6
UK 10	Private Channel	27.0	10.1	8.3	10.0	19.3
	Public Channel	36.9	13.8	9.0	10.2	16.8
	Total	31.3	11.8	8.6	10.1	17.8
CH 11	Public Channel	26.7	17.5	5.2	13.2	17.1
DE 09	Private Channel	23.9	9.3	5.4	9.0	9.7
	Public Channel	46.3	12.6	5.2	7.1	10.8
	Total	36.0	11.1	5.3	7.8	10.3
FR 07	Private Channel	17.3	11.6	5.9	14.9	24.5
	Public Channel	18.9	12.9	6.4	19.7	21.9
	Total	18.2	12.3	6.2	18.0	22.8
IT 08	Private Channel	17.2	20.6	6.4		15.5
	Public Channel	24.0	17.4	4.8	6.4	17.8
	Total	21.7	18.7	5.5	6.4	16.9
Total	Private Channel	25.4	12.9	8.1	11.3	15.3
	Public Channel	28.8	14.9	6.5	13.3	17.3
	Total	26.6	13.7	7.5	12.3	16.2

Table IV.2: Average Soundbite Lengths (Descriptives)

in more detail: Looking back at Table IV.1 and Figure IV.1 (p. 106 and 107), it has already been stated that the share of speaking time is mostly evenly spread between journalists and candidates, with the UK being a slight outlier with a high share of journalist soundbites, and Italy an outlier with a higher share of candidate soundbites. Surprisingly, these two facts are not contradictory and they are both true. Of course, the difference occurs because one parameter addresses the sum of all individual soundbites, while the other addresses the average length of one single soundbite. The

seemingly contradictory aspects of this result therefore mean only one thing: There are a lot more candidate than journalist soundbites. Table III.3 (p. III.3) confirms this fact. The number of candidate soundbites far exceeds the number of journalist soundbites: Journalists speak for longer on average, but less often – confirming hypothesis 7 (p. 62). In other words, the candidates are granted a lot of space in terms of the sheer number of soundbites they can inject into campaign coverage. However, each individual statement is rather short and cut down to a necessary minimum by the journalists. This, of course, makes it difficult for the candidates to build up a coherent argument and they are thus dependent on the journalists for an adequate contextualization of events, policies, polls and trends. On the other hand, it is logical (and anticipated in hypothesis 7) that the journalists need longer, but fewer statements as they are responsible for the "storytelling" in news broadcast.

As mentioned, ANOVAs are calculated for the variables discussed in this section. The three most interesting relationships from the length of the various soundbite types are discussed below: Journalist- and candidate soundbites as well as imagebites.[52] The precise values for the lengths of the various different types of soundbites can be found in Table IV.2 (p. 109).

Average Journalist Soundbite Length Figure IV.2 (p. 111) shows the two-way comparison of the average journalist soundbite length. Overall, the countries and channels account for $\bar{R}^2 = 4.9\%$ of the total variance present in the journalist soundbite length, which is not much, but still a recognizable effect. The differences between countries ($F(5, 2377) = 21.2$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 4.3\%$) is much stronger than the difference between channels ($F(1, 2377) = 34.4$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 1.4\%$) or the interaction ($F(3, 2377) =$

[52] Please note that for the lengths of various soundbite types, the scales of the axes are different across all graphs showing soundbite lengths. This is due to the different ranges each soundbite type resides in. The scales are adjusted to the range in order to be able to see the patterns. In the later analyses, all graphs showing variables measured in percentages depict the full range from 0% to 100%, which is preferable as the graphs can be visually compared directly this way.

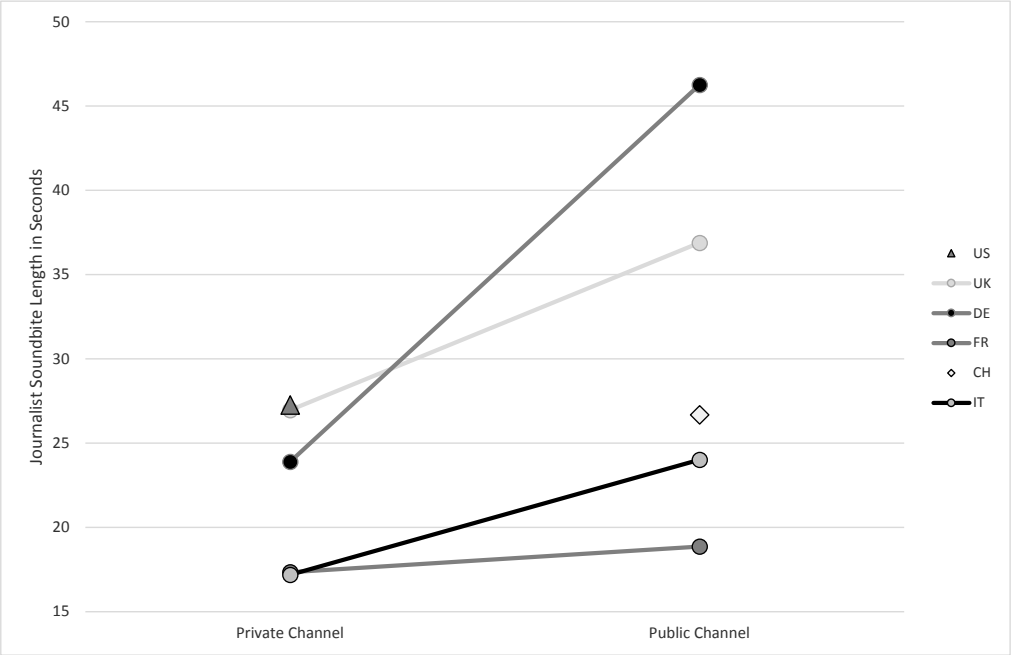


Figure IV.2: Mean Journalist Soundbite Length (Descriptives)

4.9, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.6\%$), indicating that, as far as election campaign coverage is concerned, differences between media systems and campaign environments are more important than different ownership structures of TV channels. By far the longest average journalist soundbites are found in the German (ARD = 46.3 sec.) and British (BBC1 = 36.9 sec.) public channels, closely followed by their private counterparts as well as the USA (average journalist soundbite in the US = 27.3 sec.) and Switzerland (CH = 26.7 sec.). The lowest values are found in French and Italian channels. Regarding the interaction between the countries and channels, it should be noted that greater country differences are identified among the public channels. This is mainly due to a typically large difference between public and private channels in the United Kingdom and Germany. In terms of interventionism, the Southern-European countries thus show less interventionism with regard to this first indicator. Accordingly, hypotheses 3a and (implicitly) 5b are upheld to some degree.

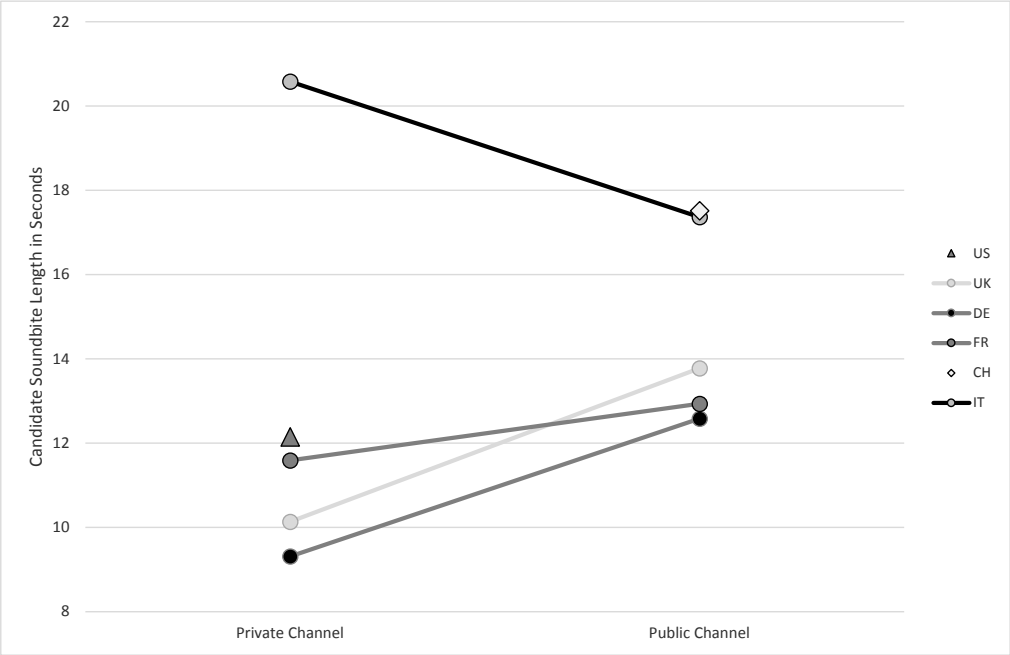


Figure IV.3: Mean Candidate Soundbite Length (Descriptives)

Average Candidate Soundbite Length Furthermore, the same graph is present for the candidate soundbite length (Figure IV.3, p. 112). The ANOVA effect size is stronger than for the journalist soundbite length, indicated by an explained variance of $\bar{R}^2 = 9.3\%$. Italian channels show the shortest journalist soundbites and have the longest candidate soundbites. However, the picture is not simply an "inverse" of the result for the journalist soundbite length, which is seen by inspecting both graphs carefully (remember that the ranges of the scales in the graph differ, see footnote 52 on p. 110). For example, Switzerland shows relatively high values for both actors, while parameters in France are rather low for both journalists and politicians. The remaining cases (US, IT, UK and DE) behave very similarly to each other in these two respects and they can thus be considered to belong to the same reporting style.

Country differences ($F(5, 2263) = 38.4,\ p < .001,\ \eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 7.8\%$) are once again much more pronounced than those between channels ($F(1, 2263) = 4.1,\ p < .05,\ \eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.2\%$) and the interaction of both factors ($F(3, 2263) = 12.0,\ p < .001, \eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 1.6\%$). While the ANOVA shows that this interaction is

not very relevant, it is worth noting that Italy is the only country in which the private channel (Canale5) shows longer candidate soundbites than the public channel in the same country. Looking at the graph, we can state that the differences between countries are greater within the private channels in this instance, but this is largely due to the Canale5 data. Again, Canale5 thus proves to be a peculiar case. It will be interesting to see whether these features translate to the exploratory analysis dedicated to identifying different types of election campaign reporting styles. Sub-hypotheses 5a and 5b (p. 61 and 61) theorize that candidate soundbites are longer in public channels and shorter in liberal media systems: The ANOVA shows significant differences both between the individual countries as well as between the channel types. However, the explained variance of the country factor is much stronger. We can therefore confirm both hypotheses 5a and 5b, but conclude that the country differences are much more significant than the difference between public and private channels (although candidate soundbites are certainly significantly longer in public channels). When considering the individual countries, the Swiss and Italian channels have significantly longer soundbites. In that sense, hypothesis 3a is confirmed regarding this indicator – there is more interventionism in liberal media systems.

Average Candidate Imagebite Length Last but not least, the length of candidate imagebites is compared using ANOVAs: The parameters are shown in Figure IV.4 (p. 114). The explanatory power is $\bar{R}^2 = 4.4\%$, a rather modest link. Firstly, it should be noted that imagebites have lower average lengths than candidate soundbites. This contradicts the findings by Bucy & Grabe (2007, p. 669), who find longer imagebites than candidate soundbites. Since their landmark study investigates the US elections of 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004, the election samples differ to this study; there might be a reversal of the trend. Another possible explanation is the fact that

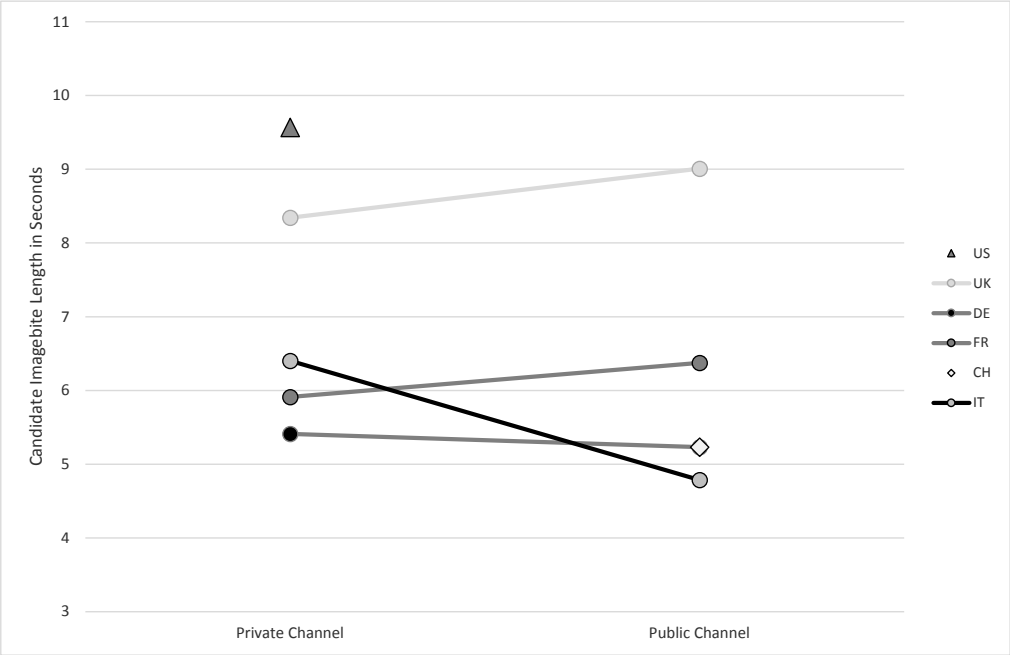


Figure IV.4: Mean Candidate Imagebite Length (Descriptives)

Bucy & Grabe (2007, p. 659) apply a longer time sample: They started to coding newscasts on Labor day (i.e., the first Monday in September), while the study at hand includes only the month prior to the election. However, Bucy & Grabe (2007, p. 664) also report shorter candidate soundbites than this study (see Table IV.2, p. 109): There might be further methodological differences between the measurements, for example due to filtering of extremely long soundbites (see appendix B.1.2.1, p. 254).

Once more, the graph clearly shows that country differences are much more pronounced ($F(5, 3517) = 25.5$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 3.5\%$) than channel differences ($F(1, 2263) = 0.2$, $ns.$) or the interaction between both factors ($F(3, 2263) = 2.7$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.2\%$). With the exception of Italy, the channels within each country are similar to each other. Furthermore, imagebites seem to be an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon or, in the words of Hallin & Mancini (2004), a feature of the liberal media system. They are noticeably longer in the US and UK than in the other four countries (but still shorter than candidate soundbites).

IV.1.1.2 Additional Soundbite Variables

The length of the various soundbite types is not the only interesting indicator present in this data set. Other key factors are what the candidates talk about (soundbite topics) and in what type of situation he or she is shown (controlled vs. uncontrolled communication situations). The relevant data can be found in Table IV.3 (p. 117).

The table contains a variety of information. Firstly, there are four variables regarding the soundbite topics. Furthermore, the values for the control over the communication situation are listed. The percentages refer to candidate soundbites, since these variables are only coded for statements by politicians. Thus, they indicate the share of all candidate soundbites that show the situation. Note that the values within cases do not add up to 100% as the percentage calculation refers to all "bites" assigned to candidates and not only "true" candidate soundbites (i.e., imagebites, audio only bites, etc. are included in the basis for the percentages). To keep the descriptive discussions shorter, only the ANOVA for issue topics is reported and visualized.

Issue Soundbites Looking at the issue topics, it should first be noted that Italy (55.2%) and Switzerland (54.5%) clearly have the highest values. Journalists in these two countries allow candidates to talk about policy and ideology, with only a slight channel difference in Italy. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the values for the US (24.8%) and Germany (23.0%) are particularly low. Comparing between topics, Germany has the highest number of campaigning topics (44.0%), while the highest number of attack topics is found in the US (31.9%). Switzerland does not have any attack or defense topic whatsoever, while Italy has some attack topics (21.90%).

Figure IV.5 (p. 116) shows the average values for issue topics. The explanatory power of the countries and channels together is modest with $\bar{R}^2 = 6.5\%$. The country differences are much stronger ($F(5, 2270) = 23.0$,

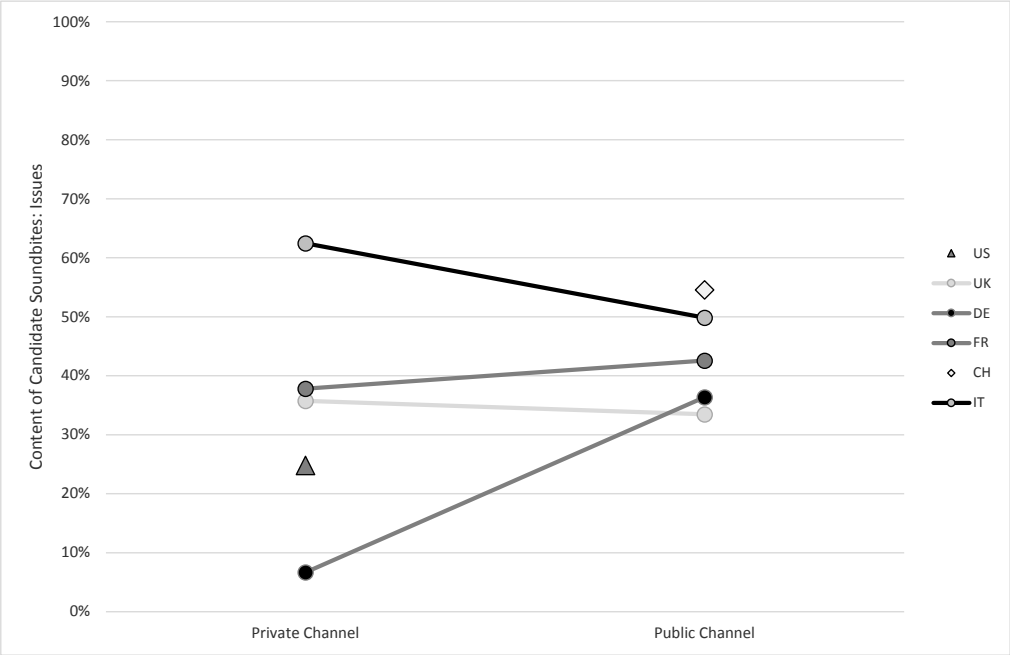


Figure IV.5: Issue Topics in Candidate Soundbites (Descriptives)

$p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 4.8\%$) than the channel differences ($F(1, 2270) = 2.6,\ ns.$) and the result from the interaction ($F(3, 2270) = 6.7$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.9\%$). Apart from the country differences, the main message from the ANOVA is that the country differences are much stronger among private than public channels, mainly again due to the high number of issue topics found in the private Italian channel Canale5. With regard to sub-hypotheses 6a and 6b (p. 61 and 61) that anticipate more issue topics in public channels and in Central and Southern European media systems, we can firstly conclude that there are more issues in the public than the private channels (see Table IV.3, p. 117), but the difference is not significant in a two-factor ANOVA. However, issue soundbites have a particular presence in Swiss and Italian channels (those that also show longer candidate soundbites) and to some degree in the French channels. The (significant) interaction is not very strong, but points to the fact that private channels show much more cross-country variation than public channels.

To summarize these results, the self-evident interpretation is that if journalists grant the candidates in election campaigns more space to present

Country & Channel		Content of Candidate Soundbites				Control
		Issues	Attack	Defense	Campaigning	Fully Controlled
US 08	Private Channel	24.8%	31.9%	2.4%	31.6%	83.2%
UK 10	Private Channel	35.7%	18.1%	4.7%	24.9%	22.4%
	Public Channel	33.5%	21.8%	5.6%	28.2%	26.6%
	Total	34.7%	19.8%	5.1%	26.5%	24.4%
CH 11	Public Channel	54.5%	0.0%	0.0%	18.2%	0.0%
DE 09	Private Channel	6.7%	24.4%	8.9%	48.9%	33.3%
	Public Channel	36.4%	20%	7.3%	34.5%	50.9%
	Total	23.0%	22.0%	8.0%	41.0%	43.0%
FR 07	Private Channel	37.8%	21.3%	1.8%	33.5%	31.7%
	Public Channel	42.6%	19.3%	2.5%	30.7%	28.2%
	Total	40.4%	20.2%	2.2%	32.0%	29.8%
IT 08	Private Channel	62.4%	16.6%	0.0%	19.7%	31.9%
	Public Channel	49.8%	25.9%	1.0%	20%	37.7%
	Total	55.2%	21.9%	0.6%	19.9%	35.2%
Total	Private Channel	33.8%	25.3%	2.6%	29.2%	55.9%
	Public Channel	42.6%	21.7%	3.1%	25.9%	31.6%
	Total	37.1%	24.0%	2.8%	27.9%	46.9%

Table IV.3: Soundbite Topics and Control (Descriptives)

themselves in evening TV news (cf. the results concerning the candidate soundbite length), they are more likely to talk about substantial issue topics and explain their policy. In other words, if journalists grant the candidates more time and space to present themselves in election news, candidates also talk more about policies. Accordingly, we can conclude that these two indicators of interventionism seem to align. Again, differences between countries prove to be stronger than channel differences across virtually all analyses.

Control over the Communication Situation A striking first result regarding the control over communication situations by the candidates is the high value of 83.2% found in the US (see Table IV.3, p. 117). On this variable, the US is an extreme outlier, almost twice the overall average (46.9%). It seems that the US candidates virtually always show themselves in con-

trolled situations, i.e., most likely at big campaign rallies with huge crowds of supporters present that will hardly ask any awkward questions. At the opposite end of the spectrum, there is not a single soundbite from a Swiss candidate in a fully controlled situation. This is clearly a methodological artifact, resulting from the fact that there are no actual candidates in Swiss elections and that the party presidents take over the actual campaigning. However, there is no control measure for party presidents, but Bundesräte, which is the reason there are no situations that are fully controlled by a Bundesrat. It is thus not surprising that the ANOVA finds crucial country differences that are orders of magnitude stronger ($F(5, 2270) = 114.9$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 20.2\%$) than channel differences ($F(1, 2270) = 4.7$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.2\%$) or the interaction ($F(3, 2270) = 1.8$, $ns.$). The explanatory power of the whole ANOVA is $\bar{R}^2 = 25.9\%$. The graph depicting the relationship can be found in Figure IV.6 (p. 119), but the main result is that the US and CH are extreme outliers at opposite ends of the scale, with all other countries in between these two and very similar to each other. Regarding hypothesis 2, we can uphold that the liberal media system seems to coincide with tightly controlled communication. This idea is further tested in the following analysis.

Control over the communication situations is also a good indicator for the amount of professional campaigning present in the political system. Esser (2008, p. 408, 419) hypothesizes that the more professionalized a campaign, the more pronounced the reactions by journalists in the form of cutting out candidate soundbites. If this hypothesis holds true and if control and the candidate soundbite length are valid indicators for the amount of professionalization of a campaign and the resulting interventionism of journalists, then there should be a negative correlation between them (see hypothesis 2, p. 59). Of course, such a correlation must be applied on an aggregated level, since the underlying thesis implies a level higher than a single proposition. Thus, this correlation has been checked at the level of TV channels. The relation is shown in Figure IV.7 (p. 120). It is noticeable

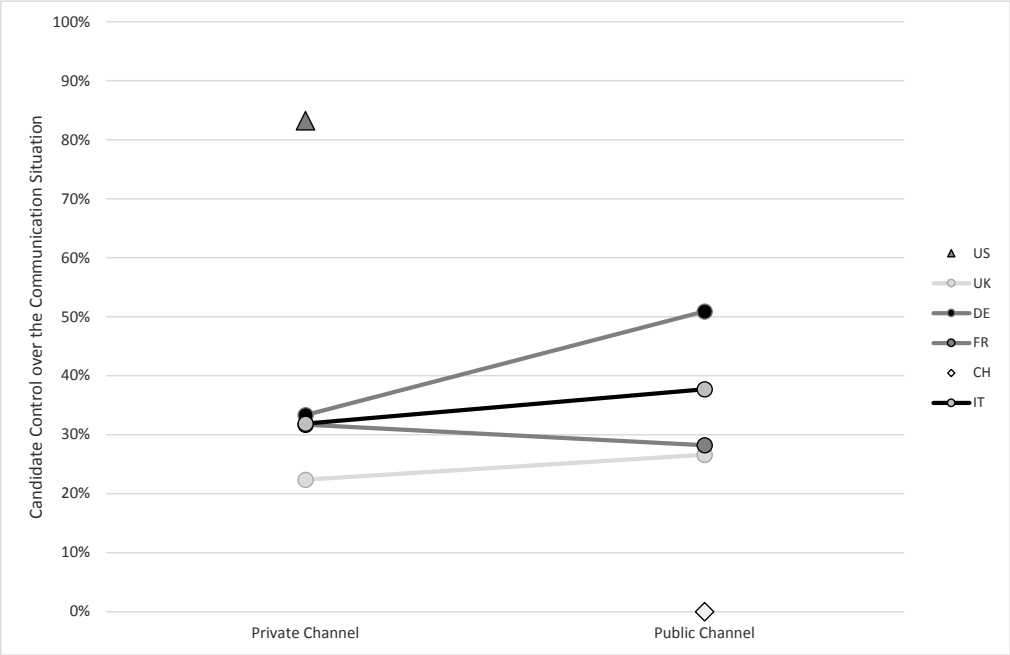


Figure IV.6: Control over the Communication Situation (Descriptives)

that channels within a country seem to be located very close to each other in this XY plot, indicating similar reporting styles within countries and thus national rather than organizational differences (indicating no convergence with regards to research question 1, p. 57).

The correlation coefficient points in the right direction $r = -0.384$ ($ns.$) and is actually not that low (also see $R^2 = 14.8\%$, which is the squared value of r); the non-significant correlation is caused mainly by the low number of cases ($N = 14$). Looking at the graph, there are clearly further problems besides the low degrees of freedom, such as heteroscedasticity; however, it is still worth analyzing the graph carefully and interpreting the relations it contains. Firstly, the fact that control hardly varies within countries (with Germany being a slight outlier in this regard), while the average candidate soundbite length does, is immediately visible (and partly responsible for the heteroscedasticity). This fact produces some outliers countering the thesis, such as CNN with the highest volume of fully controlled communication situation across all channels, but a relatively long average candidate soundbite. ITV1 and ARD (to some degree also the French channels) are

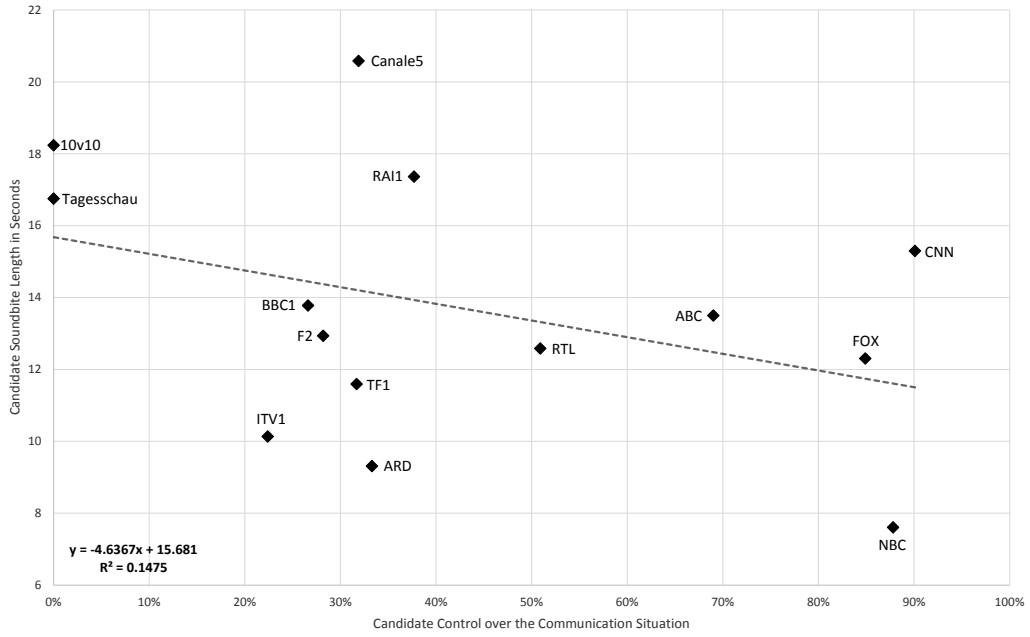


Figure IV.7: Control vs. Candidate Soundbite Length (Descriptives)

outliers as well, but in the opposite direction. They show relatively few controlled soundbites, but a very short average candidate soundbite. The rest of the channels largely confirm the thesis, with some prime examples being NBC (very high volume of control and very short candidate soundbites) and the Swiss and Italian channels (very low volume of control and very long candidate soundbites). Taken together, a more professional campaign environment (i.e., tightly controlled communication situations in this instance) coincide with more journalistic interventionism (i.e., shorter candidate soundbites in this instance). Again, this conforms to hypothesis 2. Unfortunately, the low number of cases ($N = 14$) prevents these results being investigated any further. Hypothesis 2 (p. 59) asks whether tightly controlled campaigns coincide with shortened candidate soundbites. The inevitable conclusion is that the relationship is certainly visible in the data, but not strong enough to show significant coefficients with only $N = 14$.

IV.1.1.3 Soundbites: Synopsis

The descriptive analysis of soundbites has revealed several interesting aspects that are useful in the light of the remaining analytical steps. Firstly,

the most striking fact is that virtually all soundbite concepts taken into account differ little between private and public channels, while country differences are much stronger. This is an indicator that the *national context does matter* more than different channels for election campaign coverage in TV. In that sense, research question 1 (p. 57) can be answered: Virtually all soundbite indicators differ more across countries than across the two types of TV channels (private vs. public channels). While the study does not incorporate time comparisons, this is a strong indicator that election campaign coverage is not converging across the countries investigated.

Furthermore, another key result is that *candidate soundbites are shorter than journalist soundbites* throughout almost all cases (only Canale5 in Italy is an exception). However, the *overall speaking time* of candidates (calculated by totaling all soundbite lengths) is not so much shorter than the journalist soundbites as the previous result would imply. Rather, while candidates are cut away from quickly and thus only show rather short average soundbites, they are granted substantially more statements in terms of volume (confirming hypothesis 7, p. 62). Furthermore, the analyses of the *candidate soundbite lengths* show that in the main, Italy and Switzerland grant plenty of space to their politicians, while the other countries tend to cut them out more (especially the US and Germany). However, Switzerland must be considered a unique case: Due to its voting system, there are no actual candidates and thus the soundbite concept is only partly applicable. This explains the huge amount of remaining time in the overall coverage (see Figure IV.1, p. 107): Soundbites from the party presidents, who usually perform the actual role of "candidates" and campaign heavily, and from experts among others. The latter is also a common feature in Swiss TV news where a few well-known political scientists are often invited to comment on developments and polls.

Regarding *soundbite topics*, the results indicate that the issue topic varies the most across countries. Switzerland and Italy have the highest number of

issues, while the US and Germany (in particular the private channel RTL, which has an extremely low amount of issues) show the lowest amount. At a country level, Switzerland and Italy show that issue topics seem to be accompanied by longer candidate soundbites. Furthermore, attack- and especially defense topics are relatively rare in all countries (with some exceptions, notably the high volume of attack topics in the US and the comparatively high volume of defense topics in Germany), while the campaigning topic is very frequent (especially in Germany, the US and France).

Regarding the *control over the communication situations*, crucial country differences can be identified mainly made up of the US having a high degree of control and Switzerland not having a single controlled situation. All other countries are rather similar to each other, showing controlled situations in around a third of all candidate soundbites. Furthermore, a correlation with data aggregated at the level of TV channels shows a weak (non-significant) negative relationship between control and the candidate soundbite length: The more candidates present themselves in highly controlled situations, the more journalists cut the statements of the politicians out of the TV coverage. All in all, journalistic interventionism as indicated by soundbite parameters is particularly high in liberal media systems and professionalized campaign environments (confirming hypotheses 3a, 3c and 3d), while being particularly low in Italy and Switzerland.

IV.1.2 Metacoverage

Having looked at basic soundbite parameters, the process is now repeated for metacoverage below. ANOVAs are applied again in order to identify relevant country and channel differences. The descriptions are split into metacoverage topics, frames and scripts. Note that the data basis for metacoverage is discrete from the soundbite sample, despite investigating the same six elections in the same TV channels (cf. Tables III.3 and III.5, p. 89 and 92).

IV.1.2.1 Metacoverage Topics

Let us first consider the topics. The eight individual election topics are grouped into policy & polity topics and process & personality topics (see section III.1.2, p. 64). Besides the election topics, metacoverage topics are given particular attention: Media topics, publicity topics, stories with either media or publicity topics (i.e., any metatopic) and stories with both metatopics. Table IV.4 (p. 124) contains the relevant data in percentages (basis for the percentages are stories). Remember that up to three election topics and two metatopics can be coded per article, consequently the numbers for the groups are not exclusive and do not add up to 100%.

Election Topics Looking at the *policy & polity topics* compared to the *process & personality topics*, the item of note is that except for BBC1, all TV channels show considerably higher volumes of process & personality topics than policy & polity topics. Clearly, BBC1 is a crucial exception in this regard. Most TV channels show around twice as many process & personality topics than policy & polity topics, with only a slightly more even distribution in Italy and ITV1. Consequently, BBC1 is a prime example of coverage focusing on the actual political plans of the candidates rather than campaigning, electioneering and polling statements.

As far as the differences between countries and channels for single topics are concerned, country differences are stronger than channel differences for both policy & polity topics as well as process & personality topics. For the former, the ANOVA explains $\bar{R}^2 = 6.4\%$ of the variance. Channel differences ($F(1, 1697) = 1.7,\ ns.$) are negligible compared to the country differences ($F(5, 1697) = 13.5,\ p < .001,\ \eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 3.8\%$). Due to the high value for BBC1, the ANOVA shows a slight interaction ($F(3, 1697) = 9.8$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 1.7\%$) between countries and channels that is clearly visible in Figure IV.8 (p. 125). In total, the US shows the lowest and Italy the highest volume of policy & polity topics. Sub-hypotheses 6a and 6b (p. 61 and 61)

Country & Channel		Election Topics		Metatopics			
		Policy & Polity	**Process & Personality**	**Media**	**Publicity**	**Media or Publicity**	**Media and Publicity**
US 08	Private Channel	30.1%	87.6%	46.2%	28.2%	59.6%	14.8%
CH 11	Public Channel	49.1%	81.1%	7.5%	13.2%	20.8%	0.0%
UK 10	Private Channel	42.2%	76.8%	23.2%	6.2%	28.4%	0.9%
	Public Channel	70.6%	54.2%	11.3%	5.1%	15.8%	0.6%
	Total	55.2%	66.5%	17.8%	5.7%	22.7%	0.8%
DE 09	Private Channel	42.4%	78.8%	24.2%	15.2%	33.3%	6.1%
	Public Channel	42.9%	88.6%	28.6%	17.1%	40.0%	5.7%
	Total	42.6%	83.8%	26.5%	16.2%	36.8%	5.9%
FR 07	Private Channel	41.1%	85.6%	55.1%	42.8%	75.0%	22.9%
	Public Channel	41.5%	87.7%	62.7%	41.5%	78.8%	25.4%
	Total	41.3%	86.7%	59.1%	42.1%	77.0%	24.2%
IT 08	Private Channel	67.0%	78.0%	12.1%	41.8%	51.6%	2.2%
	Public Channel	57.0%	62.7%	10.4%	15.0%	24.4%	1.0%
	Total	60.2%	67.6%	10.9%	23.6%	33.1%	1.4%
Total	Private Channel	39.1%	83.6%	39.5%	27.8%	55.0%	12.3%
	Public Channel	53.5%	72.3%	30.2%	22.1%	42.5%	9.9%
	Total	45.2%	78.9%	35.6%	25.4%	49.7%	11.3%

Table IV.4: Election- and Metatopics (Descriptives)

anticipate more policy & polity topics in public channels and in Central and Southern European media systems: Sub hypothesis 6a (representing the channel differences) must clearly be rejected as, except for the UK, there are no countries that show a substantial difference between their channels. The countries do differ slightly, however, confirming sub-hypothesis 6b to some degree. The US channels show the lowest volume of policy & polity topics; However, the UK (which is considered a liberal country by Hallin & Mancini, 2004, but not by Büchel et al., 2016) shows the highest value of all countries (closely followed by Italy; see Table IV.4, p. 124), indicating distinct country differences. The Italian channels (cf. hypothesis 3a) and the public BBC1 (cf. hypothesis 3b) show higher amounts of non-interventionism, as indicated by the policy & polity topics.

As mentioned, country differences are also stronger than channel differ-

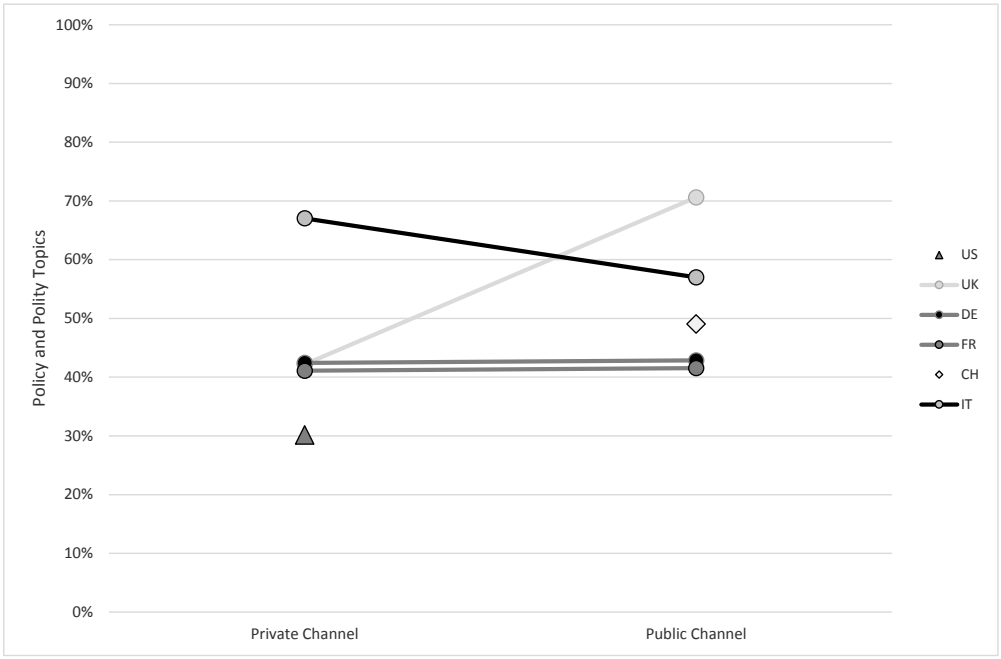


Figure IV.8: Policy & Polity Topics (Descriptives)

ences for process & personality topics. Overall, the two factors together explain $\bar{R}^2 = 7.4\%$. Figure IV.9 (p. 126) shows the average of this topic for all data points. The structure is very similar to that shown previously, with the country differences being strongest ($F(5, 1697) = 16.5$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 4.6\%$), followed by a considerably weaker interaction ($F(3, 1697) = 8.9$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 1.6\%$) and a very weak effect of the type of channel ($F(1, 1697) = 4.7$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.3\%$). As before, channel differences within one country are mainly found in Italy and the UK. Both show higher volumes of policy & polity topics in their public than private channel. In other words, the country differences in this indicator are much stronger among public channels than among private channels (which consistently show rather high values). To some degree, this result mirrors the pattern of the last analysis (about policy & polity topics), with the public Italian (RAI1) and British (BBC1) channels showing lower levels of interventionism (commending hypothesis 3b).

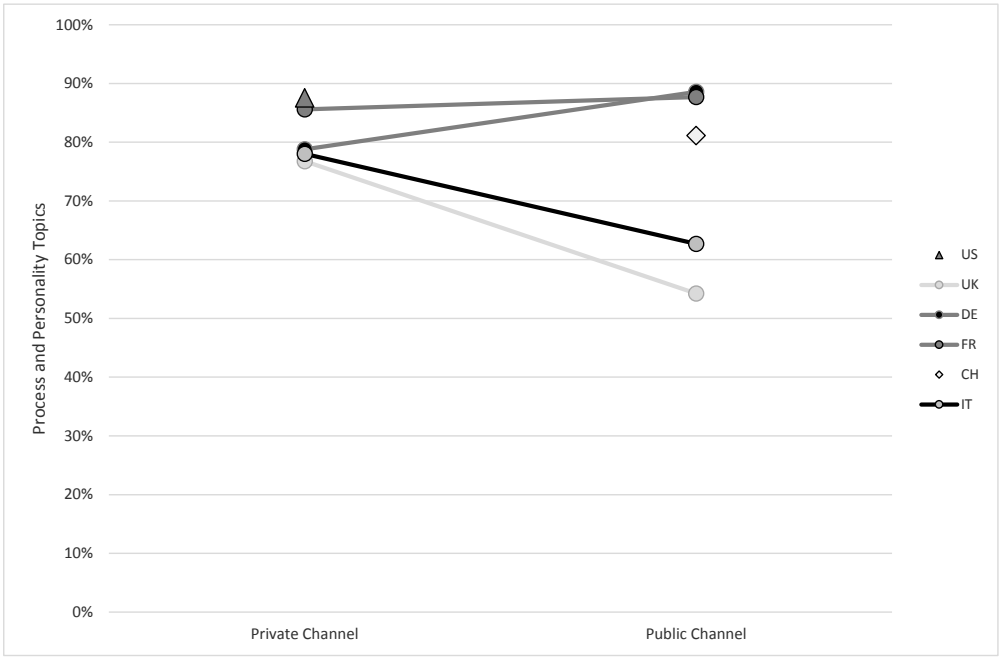


Figure IV.9: Process & Personality Topics (Descriptives)

Metacoverage Topics The first item to consider when discussing metatopics is *media metatopics*. Figure IV.10 (p. 127) displays all arithmetic means; it clearly shows substantial country effects made up of the high volume of media metatopics in the US and France and the low volume in Switzerland and Italy. Compared to the country effects ($F(5, 1697) = 62.7$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 15.6\%$), the interaction between channels and countries is very weak ($F(3, 1697) = 3.7$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.7\%$) and channel differences are not significant at all ($F(1, 1697) = 0.02$, $ns.$). Due to the considerable country differences, the whole model explains $\bar{R}^2 = 17.1\%$ of the variance. The weak interaction shown by the ANOVA is due to the slightly higher volume of media metatopics for ITV1 than BBC1, in addition to marginally higher volumes in French and German public channels – the inverse of the situation found in the UK.

Furthermore, the same calculations and analyses are also present for the *publicity metatopics*. These are shown in Figure IV.11 (p. 128). Looking at the figure, it is clear that country differences are once again the most important. Also, the number of publicity metatopics is lower than the

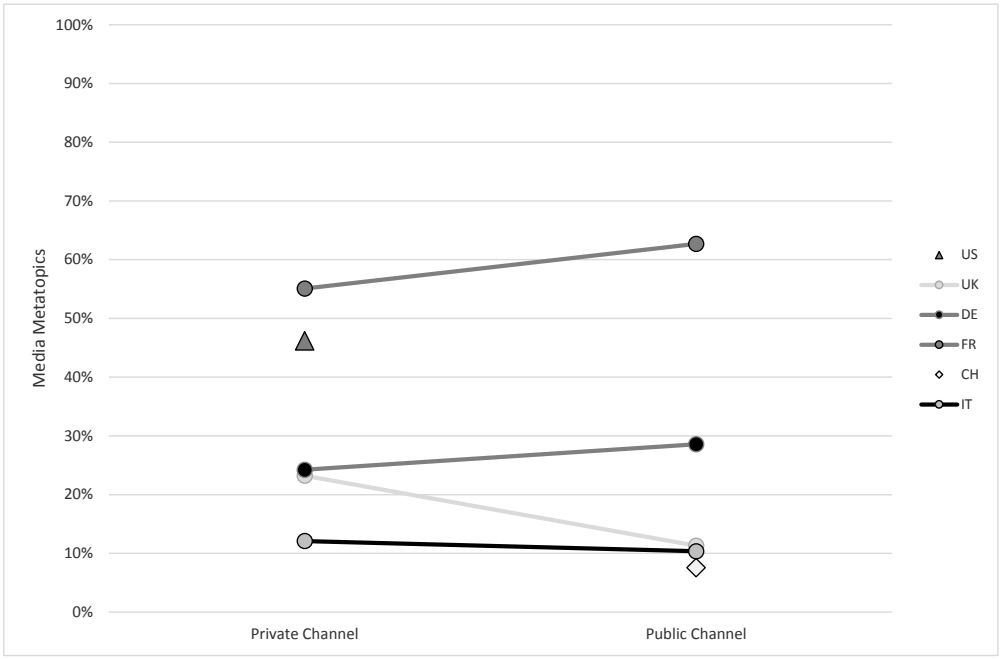


Figure IV.10: Media Metatopics (Descriptives)

number of media metatopics. With the exception of Italy, the channels within countries do not differ significantly; the very weak influence of the channel factor as well as the interaction in the ANOVA can be attributed to the fact that Canale5 shows considerably more publicity metatopics than RAI1. France shows the highest volume of both publicity and media metatopics. This is an indicator that French TV channels use considerably more metacoverage than other channels, regardless of the actual metacoverage topic (media- vs. publicity metatopic). Switzerland and the UK are the two "antagonists" that tend to have low values for both individual metatopics. Overall, the ANOVA can explain $\bar{R}^2 = 10.4\%$ of the variance. As mentioned, almost all of this explanatory power is due to the country differences ($F(5, 1697) = 35.6$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 9.5\%$) that are much stronger than the channel differences ($F(1, 1697) = 4.6$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.3\%$) and the interaction between both factors ($F(3, 1697) = 6.4$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 1.1\%$). While the high level of media metatopics in the US-American channels confirms the prevalence of interventionism (as indicated by metacoverage topics) in liberal media systems (cf. hypothesis 3a), the French channels

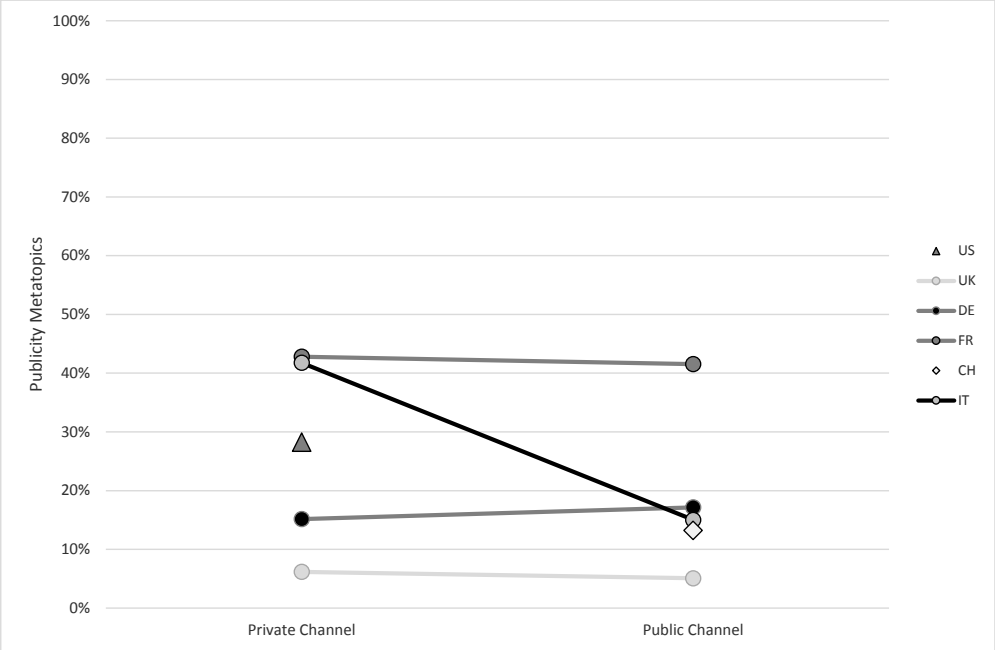


Figure IV.11: Publicity Metatopics (Descriptives)

also show high amounts of interventionism, contradicting hypothesis 3a. With regard to the publicity metatopics, however, both the liberal and the polarized-pluralist media system show high levels of interventionism. Accordingly, further analyses are needed to disentangle these somewhat counter-intuitive results.

The remaining two metacoverage topics are combinations of both the media and publicity metatopics. Firstly, a variable combining both metatopics with a logical "or" is calculated: It is coded positively when *either* one *or* the other or both metacoverage topics are present. Obviously, this is a "wider" argument than just one 'topic' or the other, which results in higher parameter values than the two individual 'topics'. Additionally, the two 'metacoverage topics' are combined with a logical "and". It is only coded if both 'topics' are present in a single TV story. Of course, this is a much "narrower" way of looking at it and the values will thus be considerably lower. The various arithmetic means are displayed in Figures IV.12 and IV.13 (p. 129 and 130).

For *stories containing any of the two metatopics* (cf. Figure IV.12, p. 129), the effects identified with respect to the media and publicity meta-

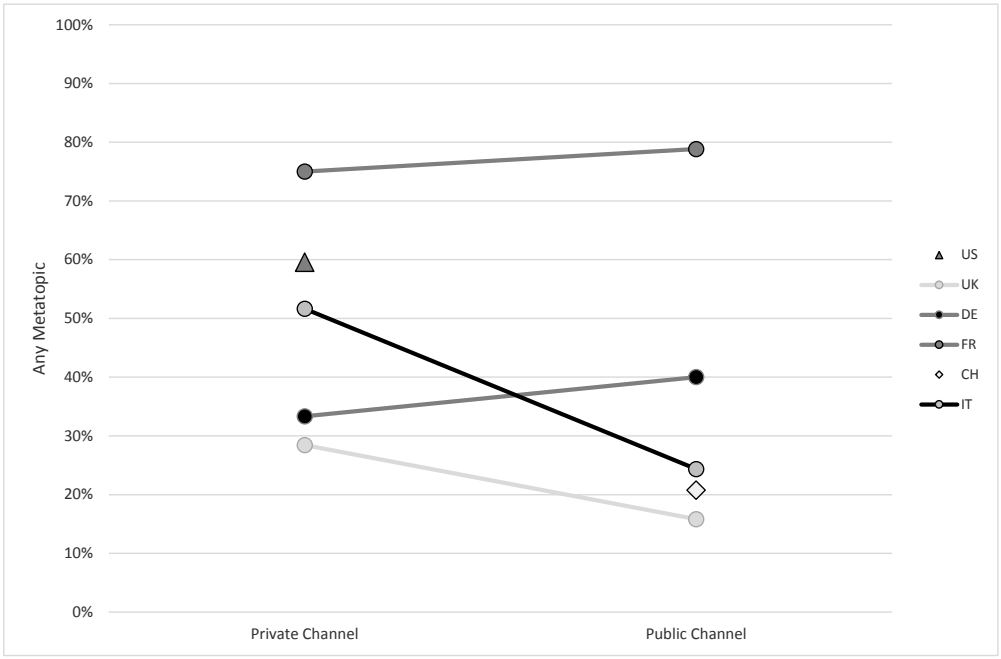


Figure IV.12: Any Metatopic (Descriptives)

topics add up. France and the US, both showing relatively high volumes of the two metatopics, consequently receive a high value for "any metatopic". At the other end of the spectrum, Switzerland and the UK (especially BBC1) have the lowest values. In Italy, the two channels differ: Canale5 uses much more metacoverage than RAI1. Overall, country differences ($F(5, 1697) = 74.4$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 18.0\%$) are much stronger than channel differences ($F(1, 1697) = 4.6$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 0.3\%$) or the interaction ($F(3, 1697) = 7.7$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 1.3\%$) between both factors. Together, $\bar{R}^2 = 20.5\%$ of the variance is explained, which is substantial. The high explained variance is mainly due to the country differences, with the interaction being made up by the difference between the two Italian channels. This result conforms to a combination of the last two analyses: The US-American and French channels as well as Canale5 show metacoverage (and thus interventionism reflecting the professional dimension of media logic).

Finally, the last variable to analyze is the index of *stories that show both metacoverage topics* (see Figure IV.13, p. 130). This represents a rather "complete" version of metacoverage, covering both the media and

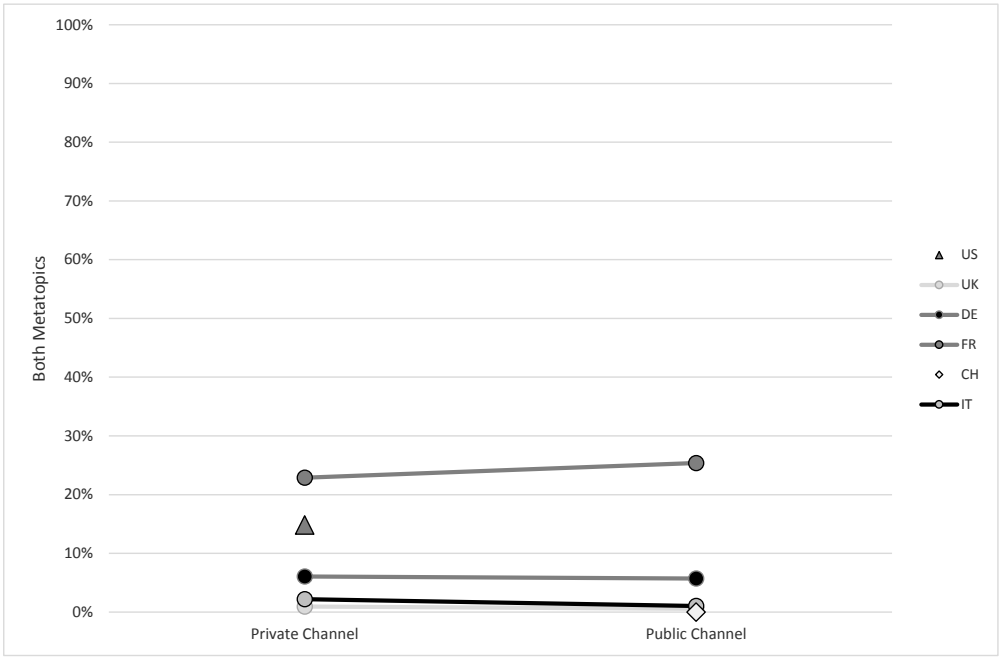


Figure IV.13: Both Metatopics (Descriptives)

the political publicity side of the phenomenon. As such, it obviously occurs much less frequently than individual metatopics. Again, France and the US take the lead in this indicator. Not only do they show more individual metatopics than the other countries, but also more "complete" versions showing both aspects of metacoverage within single news stories. The scale within which such stories appear is much more compressed than before, but country differences are still visible and relatively strong ($F(5, 1697) = 34.5$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 9.2\%$). There is no difference at all between channels within countries, consequently there are no significant effects for either channel differences ($F(1, 1697) = 0.004,\ ns.$) or the interaction ($F(3, 1697) = 0.3,\ ns.$). The explanatory power of the ANOVA is $\bar{R}^2 = 9.3\%$. Again, French and US-American channels show high values with regard to this indicator of interventionism.

IV.1.2.2 Metacoverage Frames

Having discussed the various topics identified in the metacoverage project, the metacoverage frames used in TV coverage should now be considered.

There are three types of frames for both the media- as well as the publicity topic: Conduit, strategy and accountability frames. Data for the frames are collected at the story level, but it is possible to code up to three frames per story. Consequently, the numbers do not add up to 100% exactly, but can reach higher values. The relative numbers have been calculated so that the percentages refer to all stories with the respective metacoverage topic. Note that the number of cases is thus considerably smaller, since only stories containing metatopics are considered. Thus, equivalent differences between channels and countries are less significant than before. As usual, the raw data for all frames is shown in a table. Following that, ANOVAs then test for country- and channel differences between the cases. No ANOVAs are calculated for the two accountability frames, since the respective numbers of cases were too low for reliable statistical calculations. Table IV.5 (p. 132) displays the raw data for the metacoverage frames.

Overall, there is an obvious crucial aspect when looking at the raw data across all frames and countries: Out of the media frames, it is almost uniformly the *media conduit frame* that is used to represent the media side of metacoverage. However, with regard to publicity frames, journalists prefer to apply the *publicity strategy frame* in order to describe the publicity aspect of metacoverage. It is therefore argued that the media tend to depict themselves and *their own role* as *passive* and merely passing on transparent information, while the *political publicity process* and its functions are framed in a *strategic way*, analyzing motives, aims and anticipated results that politicians and spin doctors might have had. This result is not particularly surprising and has been anticipated in hypothesis 4 (p. 60). As far as individual countries are concerned, the phenomenon is present in all cases except Italy and, to a lesser degree, Germany. Italy is a particularly strong outlier in this regard, showing almost exclusively conduit frames for publicity topics. However, Italian channels also show more variation among the media frames, i.e., a less clear domination of the media conduit frame over the media strategy

Country & Channel		Media Metaframes			Publicity Metaframes		
		Media Conduit Frame	Media Strategy Frame	Media Account-ability Frame	Publicity Conduit Frame	Publicity Strategy Frame	Publicity Account-ability Frame
US 08	Private Channel	85.0%	13.0%	3.6%	29.7%	68.6%	2.5%
UK 10	Private Channel	98.0%	4.1%	0.0%	23.1%	61.5%	15.4%
	Public Channel	95.0%	5.0%	0.0%	44.4%	66.7%	0.0%
	Total	97.1%	4.3%	0.0%	31.8%	63.6%	9.1%
CH 11	Public Channel	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	28.6%	57.1%	28.6%
DE 09	Private Channel	100.0%	25.0%	0.0%	80.0%	40.0%	0.0%
	Public Channel	80.0%	20.0%	10.0%	66.7%	50.0%	0.0%
	Total	88.9%	22.2%	5.6%	72.7%	45.5%	0.0%
FR 07	Private Channel	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.9%	90.1%	4.0%
	Public Channel	99.4%	1.8%	0.0%	22.2%	84.3%	3.7%
	Total	99.7%	1.0%	0.0%	14.8%	87.1%	3.8%
IT 08	Private Channel	72.7%	27.3%	0.0%	92.1%	7.9%	0.0%
	Public Channel	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	89.7%	10.3%	0.0%
	Total	77.4%	22.6%	0.0%	91.0%	9.0%	0.0%
Total	Private Channel	91.6%	8.2%	1.8%	30.5%	67.3%	3.3%
	Public Channel	96.3%	4.6%	0.5%	37.7%	67.3%	3.8%
	Total	93.3%	6.9%	1.3%	33.2%	67.3%	3.5%

Table IV.5: Metaframes (Descriptives)

frame than in the other countries. The candidacy of Silvio Berlusconi, the owner of several media organisations (including Canale5), in the Italian election at hand might explain this fact: Such a normatively problematic constellation (e.g., Mancini, 1997) sparks further discussions about publicity efforts of candidates, but they remain in the realm of publicity conduit frames. In other words: Italy shows strong traces of the political logic, framing political publicity efforts neutrally and media actions strategically. Compare this, for example, to France, the outlier at the other end of the spectrum (with a clear focus on the media logic): As the previous analyses have shown, it is a case that shows a high degree of metacoverage. However, regarding media topics, French channels make almost exclusive use of the conduit frames, but they heavily apply the strategy frame when covering publicity topics. France is the prime example of a country showing almost only media conduit and

publicity strategy frames.

Secondly, accountability frames are virtually never used, especially not for media topics. In fact, there are only seven stories containing media accountability frames in the US (one in CNN and six in FOX, none at all in the broadcast channels) and only one story in the German public broadcaster ARD. There are slightly more publicity accountability frames: These appear in the US as well (two stories in CNN, one in FOX), in Switzerland (two stories), in French channels (two stories each in F2 and TF1) and two more stories in the British private channel ITV1.

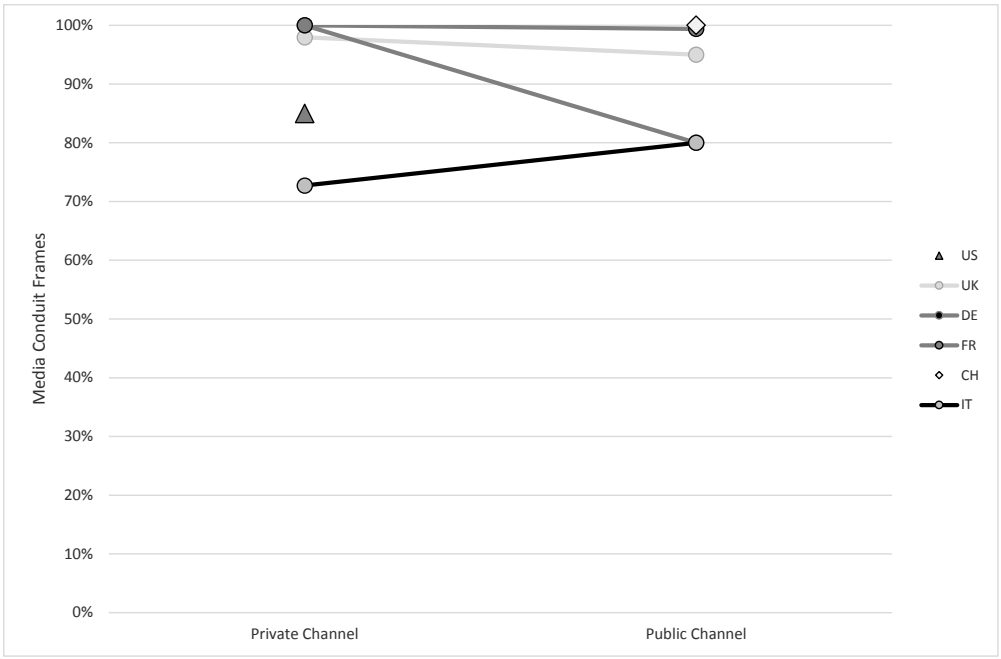


Figure IV.14: Media Conduit Frames (Descriptives)

Media Frames *Media conduit frames* (see Figure IV.14, p. 133) are abundant in all countries and channels. They are by far the most often used metacoverage frame and thus all values are high. The lowest values are found in Italy, RTL and the US, all other channels show values close to or at 100%. These country differences are significant ($F(5, 598) = 11.1$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 8.5\%$), but there are no significant differences between channels ($F(1, 598) = 1.0$, $ns.$) and the interaction is not significant either

($F(3, 598) = 1.2,\ ns.$). Overall, $\bar{R}^2 = 8.3\%$ of variance is explained by the ANOVA. In terms of interventionism, media conduit frames represent all subdimensions of media logic. Since the levels regarding this indicator are particularly high across all cases, no conclusion regarding noticeable patterns is drawn.

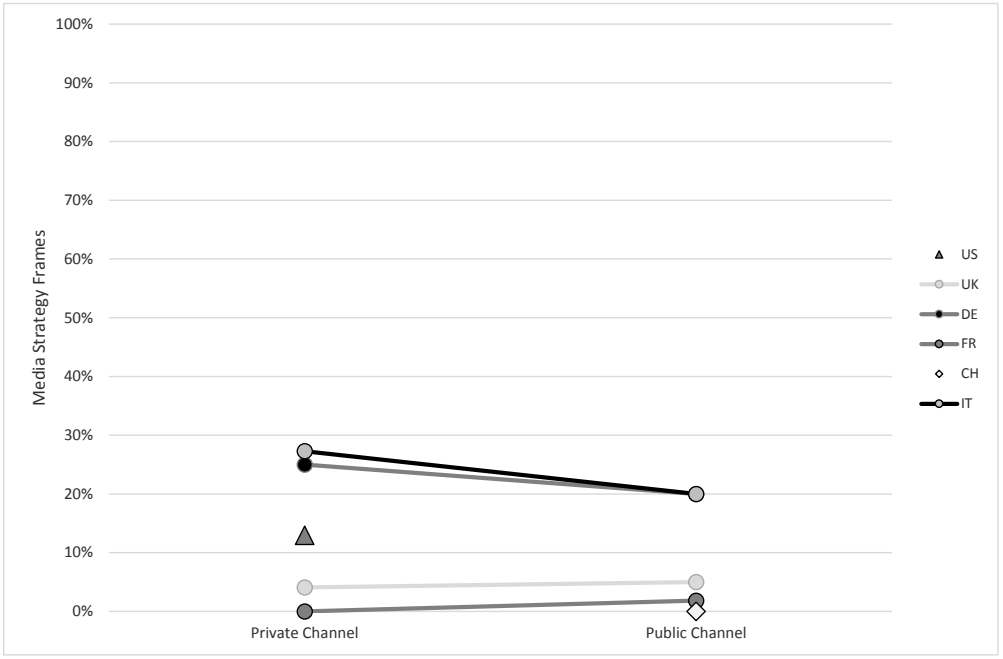


Figure IV.15: Media Strategy Frames (Descriptives)

Media strategy frames, on the other hand, are used much less frequently (see Figure IV.15, p. 134). As discussed before, all channels tend to describe their own role as a neutral transmitter of information rather than a strategic actor. This phenomenon is reflected in these results. Again, country differences are significant ($F(5, 598) = 8.6,\ p < .001,\ \eta_p^2 = 6.7\%$), albeit on a lower level than for media conduit frames. Channel differences ($F(1, 598) = 0.6,\ ns.$) and the interaction of both factors ($F(3, 598) = 0.4,\ ns.$) are irrelevant, while the whole model can explain $\bar{R}^2 = 6.4\%$. Italy and Germany show high values for media conduit frames, while France and the UK are on the low end of the spectrum – which is almost a "mirror image" of the media conduit frames discussed above. The US is in between the other countries: It shows relatively average values (compared to all other countries for each of

the two variables) on both accounts. Media strategy frames do not seem to vary consistently across contextual settings. Further analyses are needed to disentangle this result.

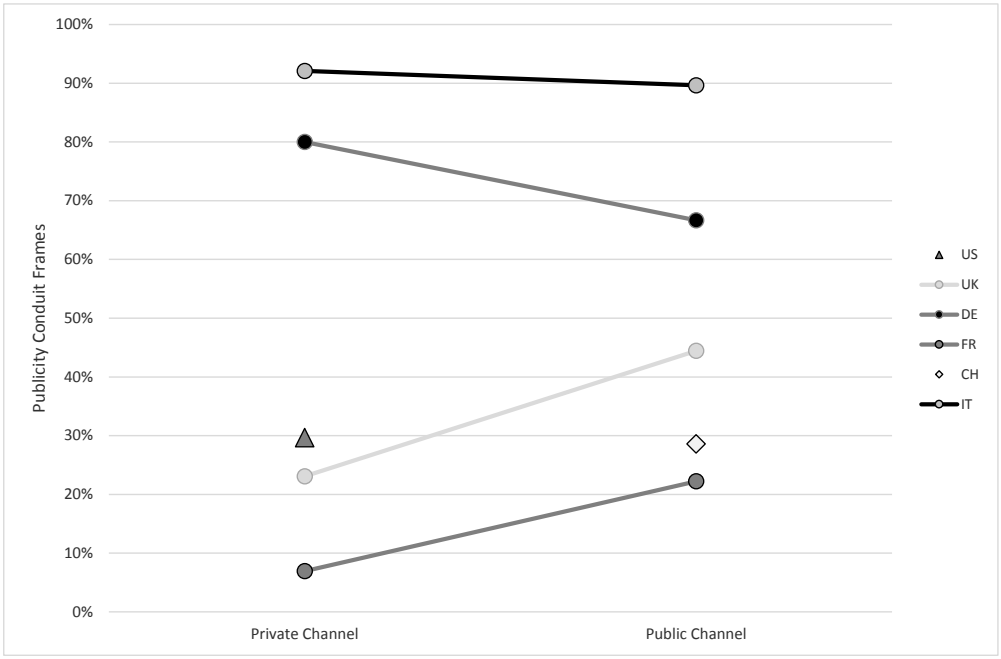


Figure IV.16: Publicity Conduit Frames (Descriptives)

Publicity Frames As mentioned before, accountability frames do not occur frequently enough to calculate reliable statistical relations. Thus, the next aspect to discuss is the *publicity conduit frame*. The arithmetic means of the various groups are displayed in Figure IV.16 (p. 135). There are considerable country differences ($F(5, 424) = 41.4$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 32.8\%$) for publicity conduit frames. Italy and Germany have a very high volume of publicity conduit frames, while all other countries (especially France) have comparatively low values. The channels ($F(1, 424) = 0.5$, $ns.$) and interaction ($F(3, 424) = 1.4$, $ns.$) do not have an effect on this variable. Overall, the ANOVA can explain $\bar{R}^2 = 32.8\%$ of the variance, which represents substantial country differences. Albeit with a much larger variance, this pattern is similar to the one found for media strategy frames – Germany and France show rather high amounts of media strategy frames. This result

is again somewhat counter-intuitive and demands further analyses.

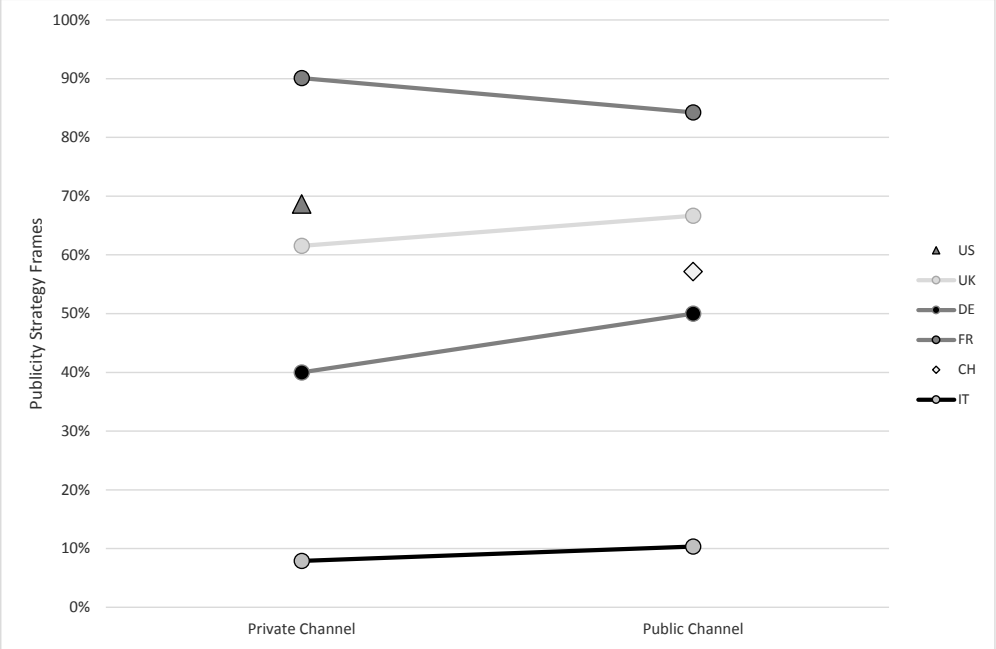


Figure IV.17: Publicity Strategy Frames (Descriptives)

The last metacoverage frame to discuss in-depth is the publicity strategy frame (see Figure IV.17, p. 136). Again, it appears to be a "mirror image" of the 'publicity conduit frame': Italy has very low values, followed by Germany; France, on the other hand, has very high values for this frame. The UK, Switzerland and the US are somewhere in between. Even the ANOVA delivers strikingly similar parameters, although of course with an inverted ranking for the cases: Country differences are substantial ($F(5, 424) = 41.7$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 32.9\%$), while the channels ($F(1, 424) = 0.2,\ ns.$) and interaction ($F(3, 424) = 0.4,\ ns.$) do not show any influence. Together, the model explains $\bar{R}^2 = 31.9\%$ of the variance. Regarding journalistic interventionism, it must be noted again that these indicators do not vary consistently across different contextual settings.

Taken together, the analysis of metacoverage frames indicates that there are two general trends when comparing the countries with each other. Most of the countries follow the intuitive pattern of mainly showing media conduit frames and publicity strategy frames, i.e., the expected type of

metacoverage: Journalists display their own role in neutral terms, but depict the publicity efforts of candidates with strategic frames. However, comparing the countries with each other (rather than the various frames), Germany and Italy in particular tend to show the opposite effect: They have high values for publicity conduit frames and media strategy frames, focusing on the strategic aspects of media coverage and neutrally framing the political marketing. The distinction between countries using media conduit combined with publicity strategy frames (US, FR, CH, UK) and those combining publicity conduit with media strategy frames (IT, DE) shows that there are strong country differences, indicating an influence of campaign environments on the various types of election campaign reporting. Section IV.2 (p. 149) will investigate whether this phenomenon shows up in an empirically derived typology of journalistic election campaign reporting styles.

IV.1.2.3 Metacoverage Scripts

To finish the descriptive analyses, a few final words are needed on metacoverage scripts. In terms of the framing nomenclature, these are the frame "elements" of metacoverage frames. They specify the precise type of metacoverage expressed by each proposition about any metatopic in TV newscasts (see section III.1.2, p. 68 for detailed description about the structure and operationalization of metacoverage scripts as well as section B.1.2, p. 253 for details on the aggregation). These variables are at the lowest level of analysis and thus have the highest numbers of cases; small differences can therefore be significant. In terms of interventionism, all metacoverage scripts show some form of interventionism in the sense that they signify different types of metacoverage (which is interventionist by definition). Accordingly, no specific conclusion with regard to interventionism are drawn in the analysis of metacoverage scripts.

We must firstly explain which scripts are under discussion. Script types

are excluded: They can be grouped according to the metacoverage frames (see section III.1.2, p. 68), but the results are strikingly similar to those of the metacoverage frames themselves. Individually, they have insufficient data for meaningful analyses. Thus, they are excluded from the analysis as they do not present any additional value. Secondly, script objects are grouped into two categories each for media and publicity script objects. For media script objects, one group describes 'journalists & organizations', while the second category groups script objects related to the 'media in general & relation to politics. The publicity script objects are also grouped into two categories: 'Ads & marketing' as well as 'advisers & PR'.[53] Lastly, a variable indicates whether the source of a metacoverage script is a journalist or someone else. A final variable about the visual information checks whether the metascript is made up of spoken text ("audio") only, visual elements only or an audiovisual combination of both possibilities. The data is found in Table IV.6 (p. 139) and ANOVAs are used to present an overview of the various cases.

Script Objects Since the two groups for media- and publicity script objects are absolutely exclusive and add up to 100% (as the data for script objects are collected at the lowest level of propositions, only one coding per proposition is possible), ANOVAs for the two dummies would deliver exactly the same values. Thus, only the first dummy of each group is tested.

Let us begin by examining the *journalists & organizations media script objects* (see Figure IV.18, p. 140). The graph shows vast differences between countries ($F(5, 3088) = 323.1$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 34.3\%$), with Italy and France showing rather low values, but high volumes of these script objects in all other countries. Channels do not differ much, except for the difference between BBC1 and ITV1 (this causes a significant channel effect because of the high number of scripts present in the data). However, the channel effect

[53] Also see sections III.1.2 and B.1.2, p. 68 and p. 253 for detailed descriptions of the operationalization and data processing.

Country & Channel		Script Objects & Source					Visual Info		
		Media Script Objects: Journalists & Organizations	Media Script Objects: Media in General & Relation to Politics	Publicity Script Object: Ads & Marketing	Publicity Script Object: Advisers & PR	Script Source: Journalist	Visual Info: Audio Only	Visual Info: Audiovisual	Visual Info: Visual
US 08	Private Channel	85.6%	14.4%	22.0%	78.0%	82.6%	30.6%	68.5%	0.9%
UK 10	Private Channel	77.2%	22.8%	40.3%	59.7%	96.6%	12.1%	55.9%	31.9%
	Public Channel	43.1%	56.9%	45.1%	54.9%	96%	13.1%	32.4%	54.5%
	Total	63.8%	36.2%	42.8%	57.2%	96.3%	12.5%	46.0%	41.4%
CH 11	Public Channel	100.0%	0.0%	64.6%	35.4%	72.1%	30.8%	60.6%	8.7%
DE 09	Private Channel	93.5%	6.5%	60.7%	39.3%	89.2%	41.9%	50.0%	8.1%
	Public Channel	90.6%	9.4%	43.8%	56.3%	91.7%	53.7%	44.2%	2.1%
	Total	91.8%	8.2%	51.7%	48.3%	90.6%	48.5%	46.7%	4.7%
FR 07	Private Channel	14.5%	85.5%	7.1%	92.9%	86.2%	5.9%	94.1%	0.0%
	Public Channel	17.5%	82.5%	6.3%	93.8%	85.0%	5.0%	95.0%	0.0%
	Total	16.2%	83.8%	6.7%	93.3%	85.5%	5.4%	94.6%	0.0%
IT 08	Private Channel	21.4%	78.6%	11.2%	88.8%	47.1%	38.2%	15.2%	46.6%
	Public Channel	24.7%	75.3%	5.2%	94.8%	54.8%	29.6%	17.0%	53.3%
	Total	23.0%	77.0%	9.1%	90.9%	50.3%	34.7%	16.0%	49.4%
Total	Private Channel	60.0%	40.0%	18.2%	81.8%	83.4%	21.3%	71.2%	7.5%
	Public Channel	28.6%	71.4%	19.5%	80.5%	84.0%	12.3%	74.5%	13.2%
	Total	48.6%	51.4%	18.7%	81.3%	83.6%	18.0%	72.4%	9.6%

Table IV.6: Metascript Variables (Descriptives)

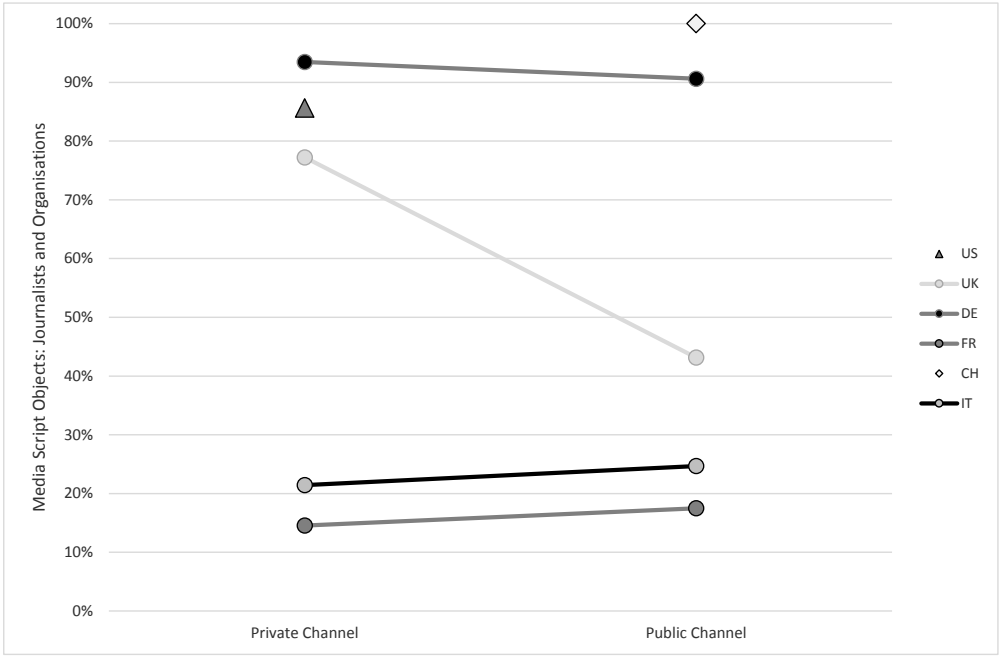


Figure IV.18: Media Script Objects: Journ. & Organizations (Descriptives)

($F(1, 3088) = 9.17$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 0.3\%$) as well as the interaction between the country and channel type ($F(3, 3088) = 30.0$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 2.8\%$) are nowhere near as crucial as the difference found across countries. Overall, the explanatory power of the ANOVA is $\bar{R}^2 = 43.0\%$, which is a very strong effect. Using metacoverage to discuss the media in general and their relation to politics seems to be a Southern European trait.

Turning to *publicity script objects*, in particular those grouped into advertisements & marketing, it is easy to see that the differences between countries are less striking than for the media script objects (see Figure IV.19, p. 141). This is an indicator that there is more cultural variance in how journalists talk about their own role than for the question of what to focus on with regard to the political PR process. Furthermore, the similar style of the two Southern-European countries appears again for the publicity script objects: Italy and France have rather low values for ads & marketing, preferring to talk about the aspects of advisers & PR. This result is unique, since France and Italy appeared to be the exact opposite of each other with regard to all other metacoverage analyses conducted in this

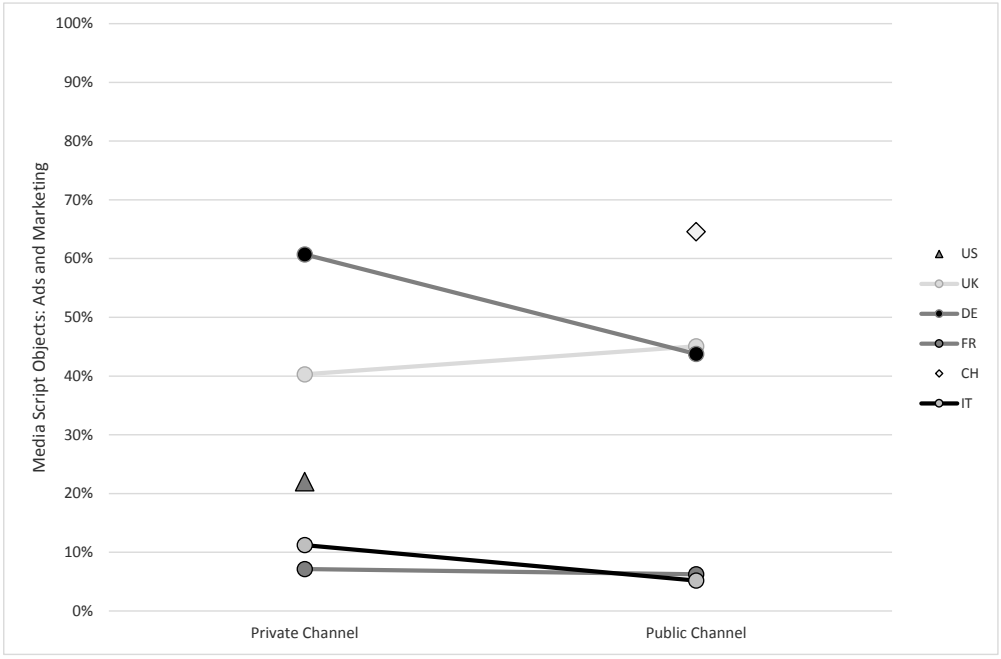


Figure IV.19: Publicity Script Objects: Ads and Marketing (Descriptives)

study. There are particularly high values for Switzerland and RTL. Country differences are significant ($F(5, 1700) = 69.6,\ p < .001,\ \eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 17.0\%$), while channels ($F(1, 1700) = 0.1,\ ns.$) and the interaction of both factors ($F(1, 1700) = 0.2,\ ns.$) do not make a difference. Taken together, the ANOVA explains $\bar{R}^2 = 16.8\%$ of the variance.

Script Source As has been mentioned, the script source is coded for each script. Figure IV.20 (p. 142) clearly shows that most of the time, journalists are the source of metacoverage. However, in Italy, approximately half of the metacoverage scripts are initiated by other actors. Because of the low values in Italy, country differences are significant ($F(5, 4798) = 74.7,\ p < .001,\ \eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 7.2\%$). However, there is no effect of the channels ($F(1, 4798) = 0.3,\ ns.$) or the interaction of both factors ($F(3, 4798) = 0.2,\ ns.$). The ANOVA explains $\bar{R}^2 = 7.5\%$ of variance found in this variable. The high volume of scripts identified in Italy originating with the political candidates identified in Italy is a further indicator that Italian channels are not very interventionist and grant the politicians significant amounts of space to

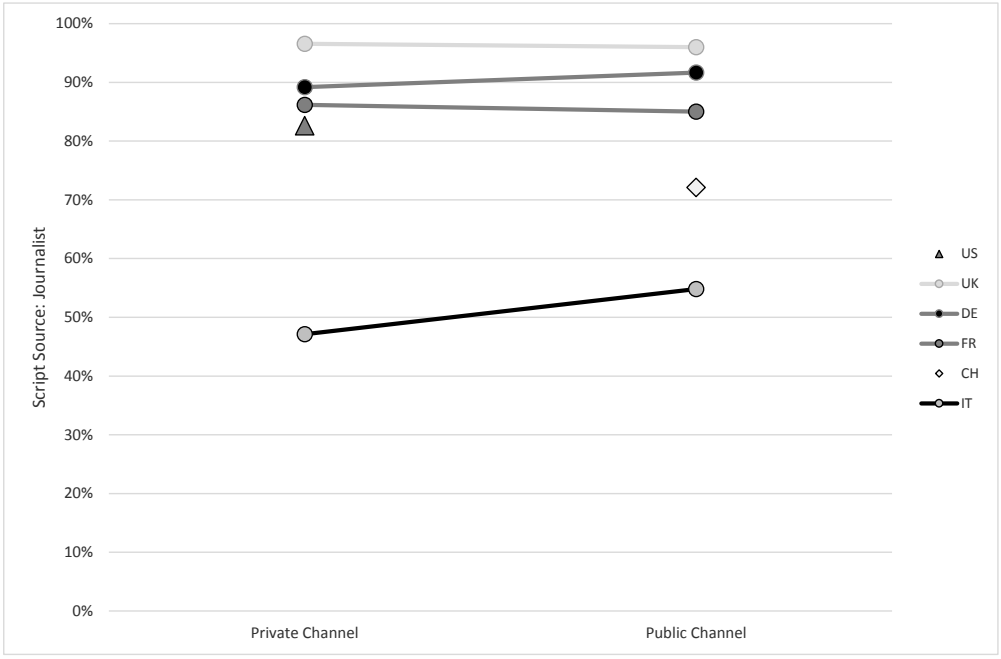


Figure IV.20: Script Source: Journalists (Descriptives)

present themselves.

Visual Information Finally, the 'visual info' designates whether a metacoverage script is made up of audio, video or audiovisual information, i.e., whether the metacoverage aspect is articulated only in words, only in images, or both. While only the values for audiovisual information are shown in Figure IV.21 (p. 143) in order to simplify the analysis, an interesting fact can be identified looking at the raw data for all three variable values (see Table IV.6, p. 139). France clearly has almost only audiovisual scripts. All other countries have a more even distribution, but with two different patterns: Italy and the UK have a tendency for visual scripts (IT: 49.4%, UK: 41.4%), whereas the US, Switzerland and Germany show an affinity for audio scripts (DE: 48.5%, CH: 30.8%, US: 30.6%). In fact, Italy has a slight tendency towards the audio scripts, too. Three distinct types of metacoverage can therefore be identified with this variable: US, Swiss and German channels tend to express metacoverage using the spoken word. French channels overwhelmingly use audiovisual information, consisting of

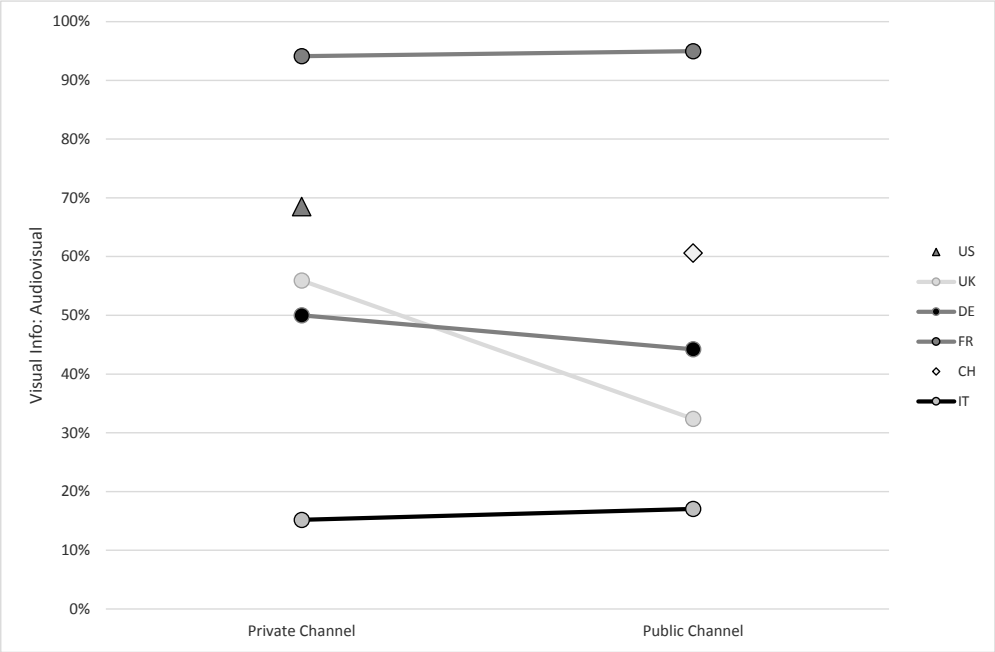


Figure IV.21: Visual Info: Audiovisual (Descriptives)

metacoverage articulated in words as well as images. And Italian and British channels tend to complement audiovisual scripts with a significant amount of metacoverage consisting only of images. Note that this last type most likely relates to media conduit frames: E.g., film crews shooting footage of campaign events are depicted in newscasts. Furthermore, remember that Italy is a slight outlier: It is actually a hybrid type that has very few audiovisual scripts, relying instead on either the spoken word or images only to build its metacoverage stories.

The distinct country differences identified for this variable are significant ($F(5, 4795) = 375.0$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 28.1\%$), which is mainly due to Italy and France having such a low and high volume of audiovisual scripts respectively. This indicator separates the two Southern European countries. Finally, because of the differences between public and private channels, particularly in the UK, there is a minimal effect of the channel type ($F(1, 4795) = 11.1$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 0.2\%$) and a slight influence of the interaction between both factors ($F(3, 4795) = 17.8$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\text{p}} = 1.1\%$). Taken together, the countries and channels have an influence of $\bar{R}^2 = 28.7\%$ on the occurrence of au-

Country & Channel		Negative Evaluation of Left Candidate	Negative Evaluation of Right Candidate
US 08	Private Channel	31.1%	35.8%
UK 10	Private Channel	15.3%	10.6%
	Public Channel	10.5%	4.6%
CH 11	Public Channel	0.0%	3.4%
DE 09	Private Channel	0.0%	12.5%
	Public Channel	11.1%	10.5%
FR 07	Private Channel	9.1%	17.5%
	Public Channel	7.2%	15.5%
IT 08	Private Channel	46.6%	11.8%
	Public Channel	20.7%	28.1%
Total	Private Channel	22.8%	25.2%
	Public Channel	9.0%	14.1%

Table IV.7: Negative Candidate Evaluation (Descriptives)

diovisual scripts.

Candidate Evaluation Lastly, coders note for every metacoverage script whether the particular proposition is connected to any of the political candidates, and if so whether this is a positive or negative evaluation. Table IV.7 (p. 144) shows the volume of negative evaluations found in each country and channel type, split into candidates from the left or the right. The percentages thus refer to the share of negative evaluations found among all metacoverage scripts showing any candidate connection to the respective candidates. For example, out of all scripts containing a candidate connection to the democratic party (i.e., Barack Obama), 31.1% show a negative candidate evaluation.

Before turning to the ANOVAs, let us compare the volume of negative evaluations (Table IV.7 (p. 144). In the US, the levels are high but very similar: Approximately one third of all evaluations are negative, irrespective of

the candidate. The two evaluations are similarly low in Switzerland (almost no negative evaluations) and the German public channel (approximately every tenth evaluation is negative). The left candidate is evaluated negatively much more frequently than his mid-right counterpart in the UK and particularly in the Italian private channel Canale5 (which is owned by Silvio Berlusconi, the center-right candidate in the respective Italian election). All the other channels have slightly higher negative evaluations of the right rather than the left candidate (RAI1, RTL, F2, TF1).

Figure IV.22 (p. 146) visualizes the country and channel differences among *negative evaluations of the left candidate*. It is immediately noticeable that the difference between countries is much greater among private than public channels. There is a significant influence of the country ($F(5, 1548) = 16.1$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 5.0\%$) and the interaction ($F(3, 1548) = 4.3$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.8\%$), which is mainly due to the extremely high value for Canale5. The main effect of the channel is not significant ($F(1, 1548) = 1.5$, $ns.$) . Overall, $\bar{R}^2 = 9.4\%$ of the variance can be explained.

The other side of this variable, namely the *negative evaluations of right candidates*, shows almost a "mirror image" of the previous analysis (see Figure IV.23, p. 147). Ignoring the US, country differences are stronger among the public channels this time, albeit on much lower levels than before. Interestingly, it is again one of the Italian channels, this time the public RAI1, that shows one of the highest values (along with the US). The effects found with the ANOVA are consequently also less strong than before, showing a slight country difference ($F(5, 2140) = 14.9$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 3.4\%$) and an almost significant interaction ($F(3, 2140) = 2.6$, $p = 0.51$, $\eta^2_{\mathrm{p}} = 0.4\%$), but no effect of the channel type ($F(1, 2140) = 0.2$, $ns.$) and a rather low value of $\bar{R}^2 = 6.2\%$ of explained variance.

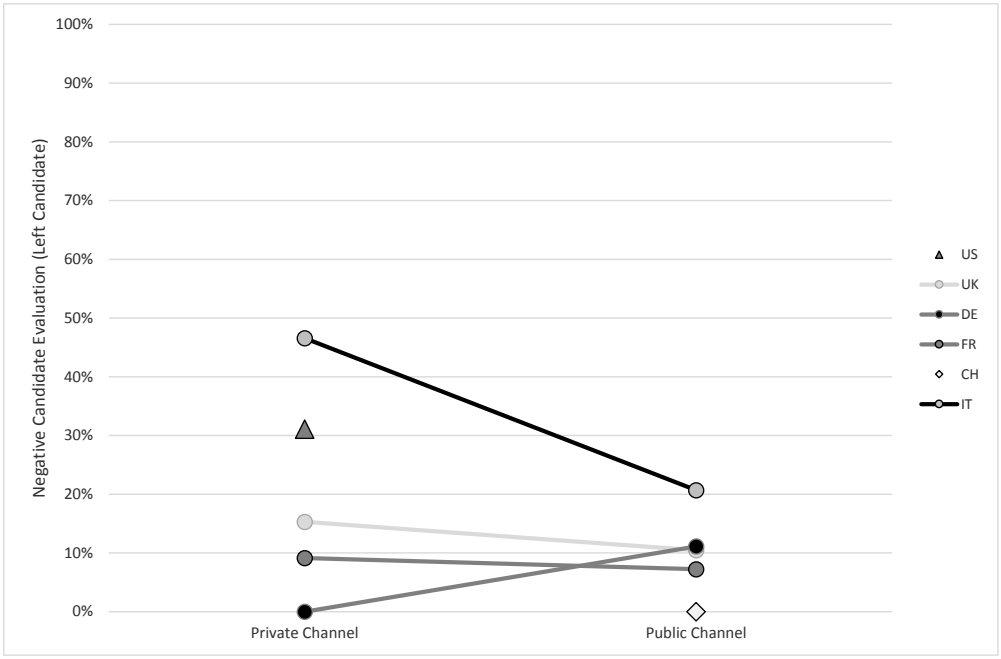


Figure IV.22: Negative Evaluation of Left Candidate (Descriptives)

IV.1.2.4 Metacoverage: Synopsis

Taken together, some key conclusions can be drawn from the descriptive analysis of metacoverage variables. Firstly, as has been asserted in the soundbite analysis, country differences are much more crucial than channel differences. These results are indicators that election campaigns are relatively singular "events" and that the occurrence of such an "event" in a different contextual setting (i.e., a different country, but also different elections within a country) has a much more profound effect on the reporting style than whether the TV channel is owned privately or publicly. In other words, election campaigns are so unique and important that both private and public channels report them very similarly. The same conclusion is also drawn with regard to the soundbite indicators (see section IV.1.1.3, p. 120). Thus, research question 1 (p. 57) asking whether news content differs more across countries or across private vs. public TV channels can be negated.

Furthermore, it is possible to extract interesting results for the individual variables. As far as election and metacoverage topics are concerned, Italy, the UK and Switzerland tend to show high volumes of policy & polity top-

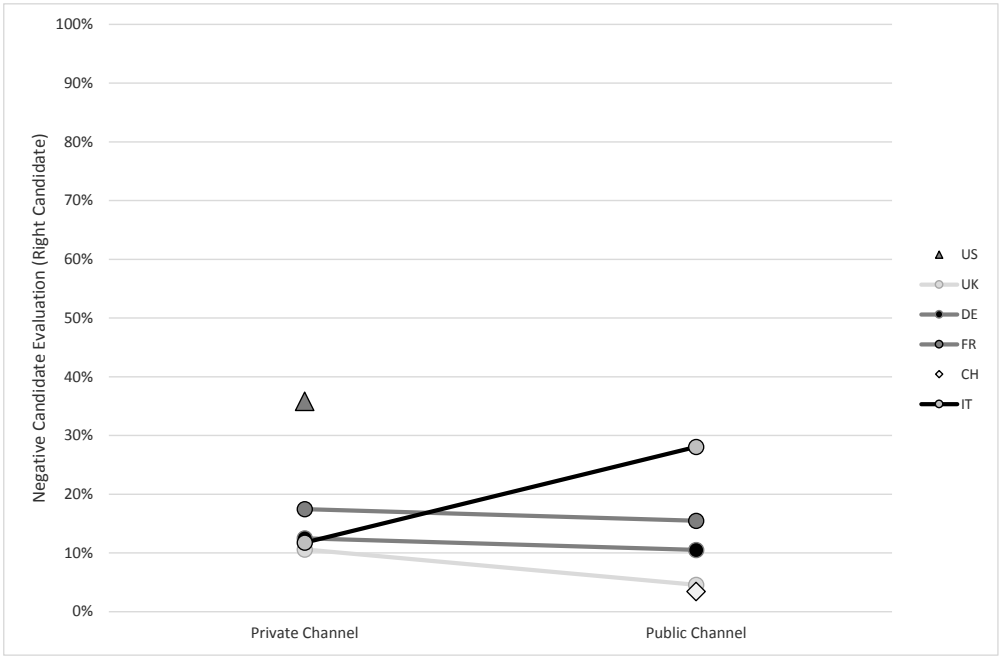


Figure IV.23: Negative Evaluation of Right Candidate (Descriptives)

ics; process & personality topics are particularly low in BBC1 and RAI1 (the public channels in the UK and Italy). Thus, Italian, Swiss and British channels focus more on stories which discuss political issues, programs and the political system than the other countries. Additionally, metacoverage is a particularly conspicuous phenomenon in France and the US.

There are two main results for metacoverage frames: Almost all channels (except Italy and to some degree Germany) show mainly media conduit combined with publicity strategy frames. This is an indicator that journalists tend to talk about themselves and their own role in neutral terms, portraying "the media" as passive transmitters of information, while framing the publicity and PR efforts of political candidates in a rather strategic way, focusing on their aims, goals and intentions. Secondly, it is crucial to note that accountability frames are almost non-existent – a result in line with the studies by Esser & D'Angelo (2006, p. 59; 2003, p. 635-637). From the perspective of a normative theory of democracy, these are the desirable frames, enlightening the viewers and fulfilling the media role of a watchdog. In that sense, this reinforces the somewhat pessimistic interpretations of

Kerbel (1999, 1997) that metacoverage is not done in an enlightening and transparent way, but rather strategically.

The various script objects also provide proof of crucial results. As far as both media and publicity script objects are concerned, the Southern European countries (FR and IT) show similar "reporting styles": They tend to focus a great deal on the media in general & relation to politics as well as advisers & PR, a result that is unique for these two countries. The German- and English-speaking countries (DE, CH, UK, US) focus much more on the other aspect, i.e., journalists & organizations and ads & marketing. Metacoverage script objects appear to be situated at higher levels of abstraction in France and Italy than the other countries.

Finally, with respect to the script source and visual information, some key results require reiteration. Apart from Italy (and to some degree Switzerland), the script source is mostly the journalist. This is a further indicator that Italian journalists grant the candidates significant amounts of crucial space in evening newscasts; Italian politicians even manage to bring up metatopics frequently, i.e., in about half of all stories containing metacoverage (or half of all metacoverage scripts). That is a significant amount which is not common and is not to be found in the other countries. As for the visual information, there are three types of metacoverage that can be identified: Firstly (1), French journalists almost only show metacoverage containing both audio and visual information. Italy is the opposite and seldomly shows audiovisual scripts. In the US, Switzerland and Germany, audiovisual scripts are combined with audio only scripts that rely on the spoken word, while visual only information is almost non-existent. Finally, the UK shows many visual in addition to the audiovisual scripts. The main result here is that the US, Switzerland and Germany often seem to rely on the spoken word in order to build their metacoverage stories. Interestingly, the two Southern European countries seem to be the absolute opposite of each other.

IV.2 Identifying Reporting Styles: Dimensions and Models

After the discussion of basic descriptive parameters, the next step in the analysis is the exploratory part (also see Figure III.1, p. 95). The first subsection (IV.2.1, p. 149) discusses the correspondence analysis. This step identifies the dimensions (or "factors") of the reporting style typology of interventionism. Building upon this dimensionality, a cluster analysis is applied in the second step (subsection IV.2.2, p. 163) in order to create scales for the models of the typology – i.e., variables describing the distinct (non-)interventionist "clusters" of cases found when plotting the TV channels. In the final step of the analysis in the subsequent section (IV.3, p. 181), these scales are explained using QCA (separately for each reporting style model) in order to relate the models of (non-)interventionism to contextual settings.

IV.2.1 Typology Dimensions: Correspondence Analysis

Correspondence analysis is an exploratory statistical method for categorical data based on contingency tables and χ^2-distances. The basic aim is similar to factor analysis (but for nominal data): *Reducing* a *high volume of variables* to a *low volume of dimensions* describing patterns and correlations among the initial variables. Usually, the interpretation is done with visual assistance: Often, correspondence analysis delivers two-dimensional results (although it is by no means restricted to two dimensions) that are displayed in a XY plot. On this basis, the researcher checks where the variables are located in the XY plot to determine the "meaning" of the horizontal and vertical axis, paying special attention to the point of origin in the plot. After determining the substance of the two dimensions, the cases are located

in the plot – allowing interpretation of groups of cases with respect to the dimensions.[54] The method is explained in great detail in the appendix (section B.2.1.1, p. 260), referencing key methodological literature; please consult the relevant pages for further details.

In total, 14 variables have proven useful in discriminating the cases (cf. section IV.1, p. 103) and these are applied in the correspondence analysis (eight variables stemming from the metacoverage project and six variables from the soundbite project). Since correspondence analysis works with categorical data, all variables are processed using numbers of cases. From the soundbite project, these are: The candidate soundbite length grouped into three categories (short, medium, long candidate soundbites; see section B.1.2.1, p. 254); the message type (journalist- and candidate soundbite); and the number of issue soundbites. To keep the analysis concise and parsimonious, the issue soundbites have been chosen for the analysis rather than any of the other categories of soundbite content; normatively, it is the most meaningful category, as it indicates the amount of instances in which politicians talk about actual political issues in their soundbites. There are slightly more metacoverage variables: The two grouped election topic variables (policy & polity topics and process & personality topics); the two variables counting any- and both metatopics; and finally, the metacoverage frames.[55] The correspondence analysis yields two unique dimensions of journalistic reporting styles; these are explained separately in the following subsections.

[54] Note that it is not allowed to interpret the relative distance between single cases and single variables in the plot, since they must be rescaled into the respective other axes (see Greenacre & Hastie, 1987; Blasius, 2001, p. 58). For this reason, cases and variables are not shown together in the same graph in this study, but rather separately (first the variables to interpret the dimensions, then the cases to identify the models).

[55] The two accountability frames are left out since they do not show nearly enough instances to be included in the analysis (cf. section IV.1.2.2, p. 130, especially Table IV.5, p. 132).

IV.2.1.1 First Dimension: Topics

The first, horizontal dimension identified by the correspondence analysis is concerned with various variables which measure *topics* and *frames*. Together, they make up the first dimension of the typology. Metacoverage topics and frames are part of interventionism as reflected by the economic and professional subdimensions of media logic. Figure IV.24 (p. 151) shows the placement of the variables in a two-dimensional space.

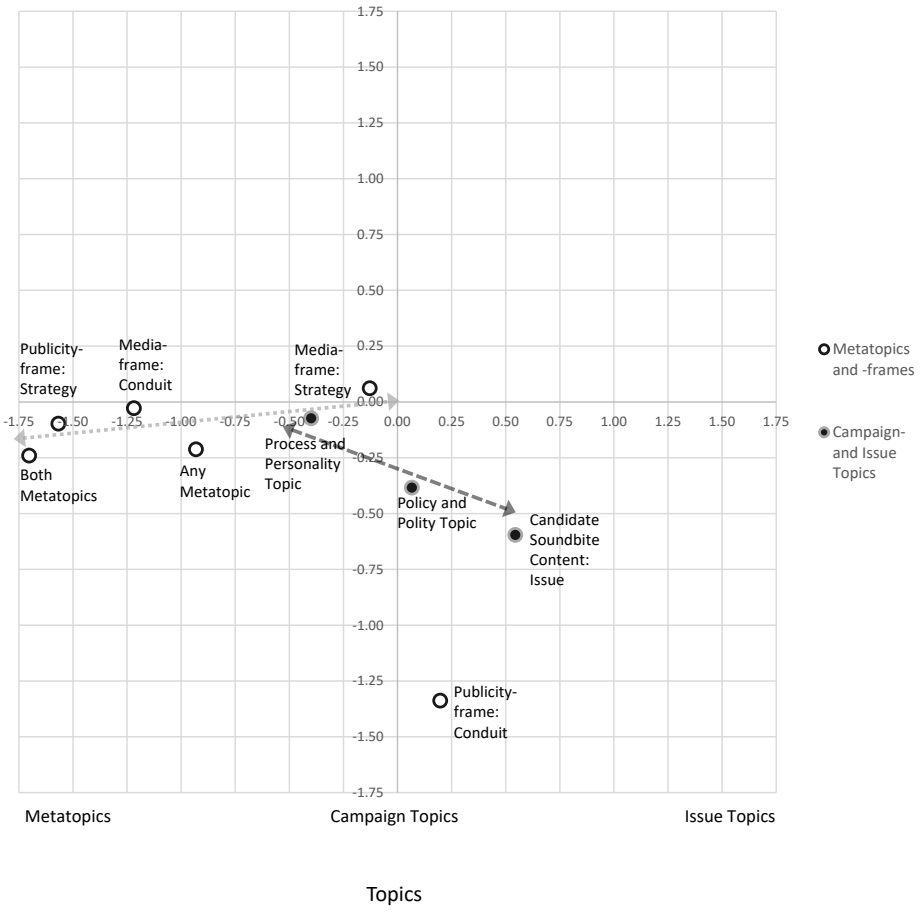


Figure IV.24: 1st Dimension: Topics (Corresp. Analysis)

The first point of reference is the *campaign topics* and *soundbite content*. These data points are horizontally aligned, with a slight tilt downwards on the right-hand side of the plot. The policy & polity topics are located in the middle towards the point of origin, while the process & personality topics are to the left-hand and the issue soundbites to the right-hand side of the vertical axis. This is a first indicator that the horizontal dimension represents the

various variables concerned with actual content (topics) of election campaign coverage. The interventionist process & personality topics are located on the left-hand side of the plot. They indicate a strong focus on campaigning processes such as advertisements, polls, non-issues and the personal character of politicians. On the other hand, issue soundbites are placed on the right-hand side of the plot, indicating coverage of substantial political issues. Accordingly, interventionism with regard to topics is located on the left-hand side of the plot, while non-interventionism gravitates towards the right-hand side. The soundbite content variable is stricter (less interventionist) than the policy & polity topic from the metacoverage project, since the latter represents a general topic variable for the whole TV story (rather than candidate soundbites). Thus, the ranking of these three variables from left to right can be interpreted in a meaningful way: Coverage of political issues is found towards the right-hand side of the plot (non-interventionism), coverage of the campaign process towards the middle and left-hand side (interventionism).

Secondly, the *metatopics* have to be considered. They are located to the far left of the plot, further breaking down the interpretation of the horizontal dimension of the correspondence analysis by splitting it up into different types of interventionism – interventionism in the form of metacoverage towards the outer left space of the plot and interventionism with a focus on personality and process aspects further towards the middle. The occurrence of either media or publicity or both metatopics ("any metatopic") is adjacent to the process & personality topics, indicating a certain relationship between these two concepts on the horizontal axis. Stories containing both the media- as well as the publicity metatopic are scarce and are indicators of very extensive metacoverage, taking into account both aspects of the concept (the journalistic side as well as the publicity efforts of politicians). This strict indicator is located to the far left-hand side of the plot. Taken together, these two aspects in combination with the topic indicators further broaden the interpretation of the first dimension of interventionist reporting

styles: While (non-interventionist) stories focusing on actual political issues are towards the right-hand side of the plot, standard campaigning coverage (e.g., polls, statements by politicians about the chancesof winning, non-issues and mistakes, etc.) are located in the middle towards the point of origin. Metacoverage topics are located to the far left-hand side (particularly stories combining both metacoverage topics) and accordingly, they signify one particular type of interventionism. Higher values on this dimension thus correspond to a greater focus on "policy coverage and polity explanations". The terms "metatopics", "campaign topics" and "issue topics" have been used to label the axis and spaces of the dimension.

Finally, the *metacoverage frames* have to be considered. The media conduit and publicity strategy frames are located very close to each other and towards the far left-hand side of the plot. In other words, these frames also signify interventionism with regard to the topic structure. As has been discussed extensively in the results of the descriptive analysis of metacoverage frames (section IV.5, p. 132), this is a typical pattern of political coverage: Journalists use the neutral conduit frame to talk about themselves and the role and function of "the media", while they frame the actions of political candidates and parties in a strategic way, speculating about aims, intentions and possible effects. It is a widespread phenomenon among the TV channels and elections analyzed in this study and it is only in Italy and to a certain degree in Germany that the pattern is not followed (cf. the synopsis of the descriptive results on metacoverage: Section IV.1.2.4, p. 146). Thus, hypothesis 4 (p. 60) is confirmed.

The two remaining frames are separated and not located close to each other. The media strategy frame is almost on the point of origin, very close to the space of campaign topics. This is a reasonable result: Metacoverage is frequently combined with the 'process & personality topics', especially the 'electioneering topic' (see D'Angelo et al., 2014, p. 166-167). While D'Angelo et al. (2014) only considered two US elections, the sample in this

study contains additional countries. In this study, the process & personality topics seem more closely related to the media strategy frame. This makes sense: TV stories covering polls (often conducted and paid for by media organizations), non-issues, mistakes and evaluations of the personal character of politicians lend themselves to discussing strategical aspects of mediatized campaign coverage (e.g., media strategy scripts such as dramatization & sensationalism, investigative journalism or media impact). In that sense, interventionism reflecting the professional subdimension of media logic (as indicated by the media strategy frame) coincides with elements of the economic subdimension (as indicated by campaign topics, personality topics, non-issues, etc.). Finally, the publicity conduit frame that describes the publicity efforts of political candidates in a purely neutral light is located towards the right-hand side of the plot. It is also the only frame or topic variable located at a substantial distance from the horizontal axis. This means that it is a relevant variable for interpreting the second dimension of the typology (i.e., the vertical axis). It will thus be taken up again later when discussing both dimensions together (section IV.2.1.3, p. 157). However, with regard to the horizontal axis, we can conclude for now that it is a frame that tends to co-occur with substantial issue topics. This result is meaningful in the context of all results found so far: If TV stories focus on political programs and policies, it is more likely that politicians are granted space in the coverage (see section IV.1.1.3, p. 120) and apparently, these two aspects correspond to stories framing the publicity efforts of candidates and parties in a neutral way. In other words, if journalists and politicians are allowed talk about policy in election campaign TV stories, they are more likely to describe their own publicity efforts as neutral dissemination of information.

IV.2.1.2 Second Dimension: Dominant Voice

The variables aligning across the vertical axis and thus signifying the second dimension of journalistic reporting styles are considered in this section. There are fewer results compared to the topic dimension. Figure IV.25 (p. 156) shows the placement of the remaining variables in the two-dimensional space: Three categories for the candidate soundbite length and two variables for the soundbite types.

The categories measuring *candidate soundbite length* are arranged quite neatly along the vertical axis, with a slight tilt towards the right-hand side of the plot (i.e., towards the non-interventionist issue topics). Short candidate soundbites are located at the top, medium candidate soundbites towards the middle (near the point of origin) and long candidate soundbites at the bottom of the plot. The length of candidate soundbites is an interventionism indicator both for the dominant voice (journalistic voice vs. political voice) and accordingly "mediat(izat)ion" (Hallin, 1992, p. 9). Since the three categories align smoothly with the vertical axis, the obvious interpretation is that the vertical dimension denotes the "dominant voice". Shorter candidate soundbites are found towards the top signify interventionism, while long candidate soundbites towards the bottom denote non-interventionism. The axis has been labelled accordingly in Figure IV.25.

The two *types of soundbites* are also considered. Again, they correspond to the vertical dimension: Journalist soundbites are towards the upper part of the plot, while candidate soundbites are in the middle close to the horizontal axis. This is a further indicator that a dominant journalistic voice (indicated by a high number of journalist soundbites) is signified by high values on the second dimension. TV channels with plenty of journalistic messages are located in the upper space. A high ratio of journalist to candidate soundbites indicates a highly involved and interventionist journalistic voice, thus reflecting the professional subdimension of media logic. The candidate soundbites are a slightly less significant indicator, since they are located so

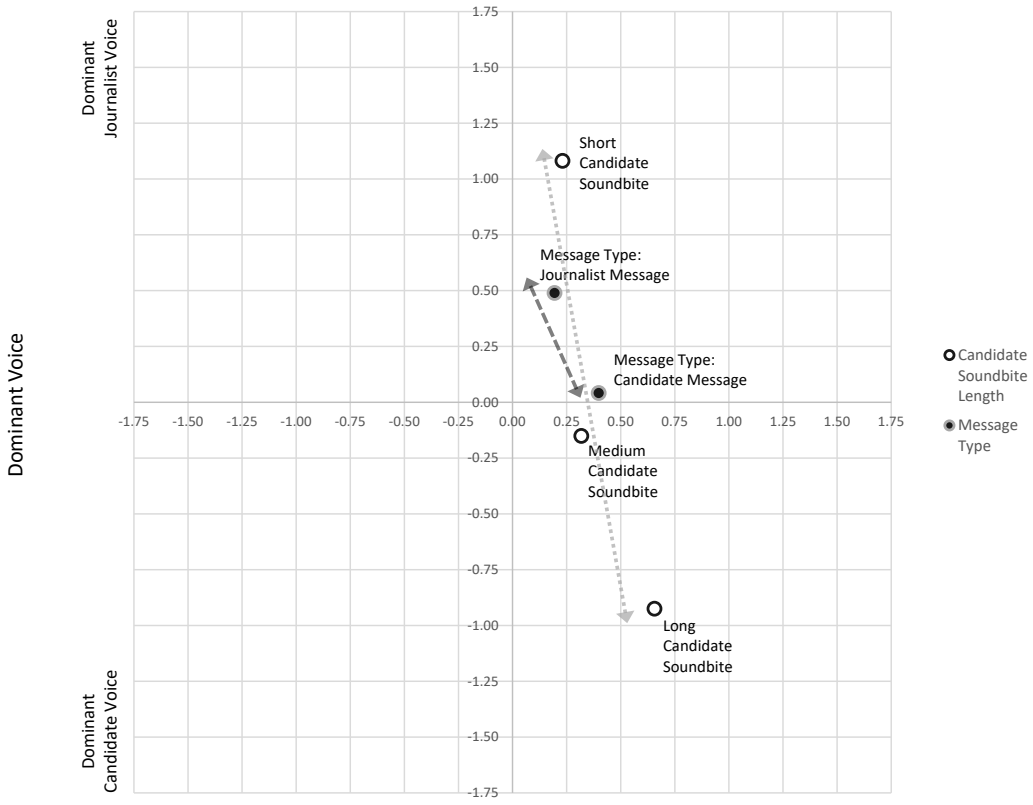


Figure IV.25: 2nd Dimension: Dominant Voice (Corresp. Analysis)

close to the zero point of the vertical axis. However, that makes sense as candidate messages are abundant (approximately 60% of all soundbites) in all countries and channels (except Switzerland) and can thus not discriminate as clearly between cases as the number of journalist soundbites (see Table III.3, p. 89 and the discussion in sections IV.1.1.1 and IV.1.1.3, p. 104 and p. 120).

The slant to the right on both of these "groups" of categories is significant and further supports the result that the right-hand space of the correspondence plot signifies non-interventionism as indicated by a prevalence of issue topics. As has been discussed in the previous section (see section IV.2.1.1, p. 151), the publicity conduit frame that is located towards the very bottom of the plot also fits this interpretation: If the journalist voice is not dominant, as is the case towards the bottom of the plot, the role of

candidates' publicity efforts is portrayed in a very neutral and non-strategic way. Basically, this frame shows a rather "sacerdotal" (Semetko et al., 1991) and non-interventionist stance of journalists towards the political sphere. In other words: Framing publicity efforts of candidates in a neutral way by portraying them as a simple channel of information coincides with granting the candidates a lot of opportunities to present themselves in their own words and with comparatively long statements (i.e., it coincides with long candidate soundbites). This frame thus nicely fits the vertical axis.[56] In the next section (IV.2.1.3, p. 157), the impact and scope of the two identified dimensions are discussed.

IV.2.1.3 Dimensions of Journalistic Reporting Styles

The two identified dimensions of 'topics' and 'dominant voice' form a meaningful space in which TV channels can be located according to their election campaign reporting styles. They signify two different types of (non-)interventionism: One with regard to the form (dominant voice) of election campaign coverage, and another with regard to the content (topics) of (non-)interventionist reporting. These are *two distinct dimensions of (non)-interventionism*. Figure IV.27 (p. 160) shows all variables combined, indicating the complete space drawn up by the initial variables.[57] The two

[56] Methodologically, the location of the publicity conduit frame highlights another aspect: Looking at the whole correspondence plot (see Figure IV.27, p. 160), it is clear that soundbite variables align mainly along the vertical axis and metacoverage variables mainly along the horizontal axis. If the two dimensions split up perfectly along the two projects, the findings might be the result of methodological artifacts. However, the positioning of the publicity conduit frame at the bottom of the plot is a first counterexample, showing that the two projects do in fact complement each other and do not simply form the two dimensions that have been found. The location of the publicity conduit frame can be interpreted as an indicator of a very sacerdotal, non-interventionist style. Furthermore, the issue soundbites that align horizontally with the metacoverage topics and frames are a further counterexample: They align with the other topic variables and thus represent the horizontal dimension of campaign topics. Please also note footnote 86, p. 285.

[57] Note that the scales of the axes in Figures IV.24, IV.25 and IV.27 (p. 151, 156 and 160) are formatted symmetrically, resulting in a regular quadrilateral for the plot. This has been done to clarify proximity to the point of origin and the two axes: They are centered and symmetrical displaying the plot like this. Of course, this means that not all extreme ends of the two scales are reached by cases (only the scale showing the maximum absolute value of χ^2-distances: The negative end of the 'topic dimension', made up by 'both metatopics').

discussed dimensions are clearly visible and span up at least three spaces in the two dimensional plot. They align along the two axes, both showing a slight tilt towards the lower right-hand side of the plot. Research question 3 (p. 57) asks what dimensions of election campaign reporting styles can be identified using soundbite and metacoverage indicators: They result in two dimensions, representing the dominance of the journalistic or the candidate's voice as well as the topic structure of both the newscast stories and the candidate soundbites' content. These two scales correspond to the two unique dimensions of journalistic (non-)interventionism.

Topics and Dominant Voice Tables B.8 and B.9 (p. 276 and 277) in appendix B.2.1.1 (p. 260) provide an overview of the masses, scores and inertia of the row- and column points. The value showing the contribution of each point to the inertia of the dimensions is useful to interpret the relevance of single row ("cases") and column points ("variables") for each dimension. The "topic" dimension is particularly impacted by the Southern European channels as well as all topic variables (in addition to media conduit and publicity strategy frames). On the other hand, the "dominant voice" dimension is mainly brought about by NBC, ITV1, Italian channels, the candidate soundbite length (particularly long and short soundbites) and the journalistic message type. These cases and variables mark the "outer edges" of the typology.

Displaying the two dimensions as a bar chart provides an alternate way of interpreting the correspondence analysis. The distance to the point of origin or the base of each of the two axes is clearly visible in such a diagram and helps to identify additional details in the data patterns. Figure IV.26 (p. 159) shows the final values (χ^2-distances) of each initial variable for both dimensions (i.e., the correspondence analysis column points; see Table B.9, p. 277).

A first result is that the two dimensions do not correlate with each other

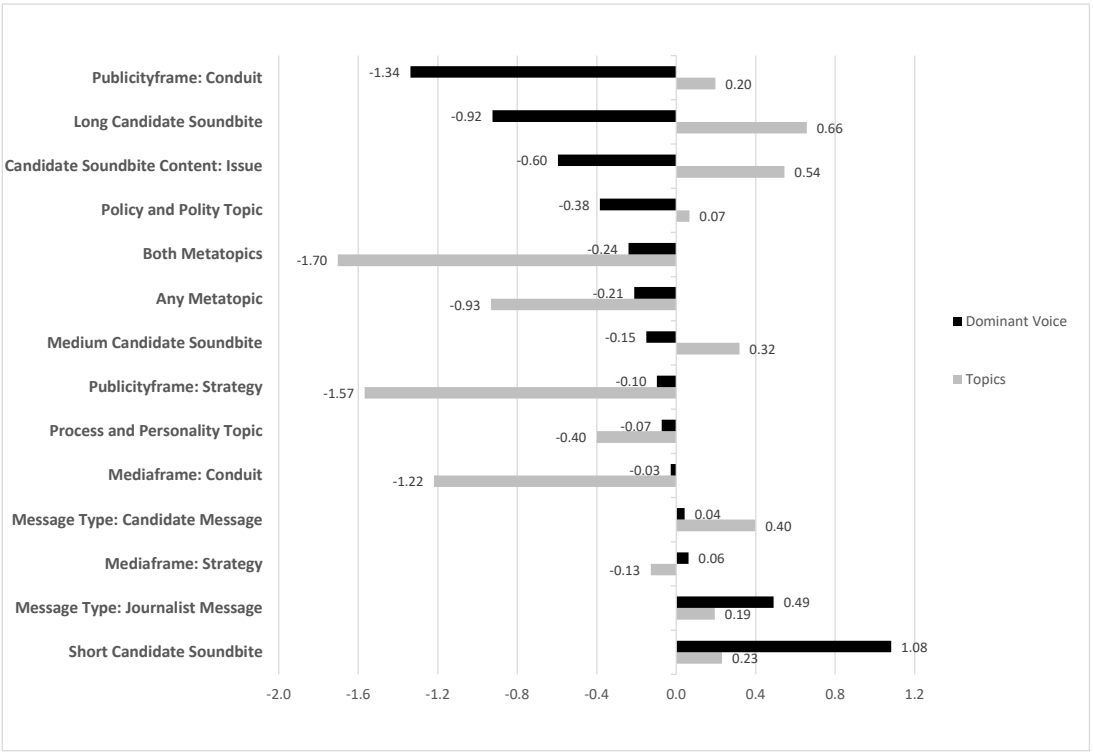


Figure IV.26: Dim. of Reporting Styles: Variables (Corresp. Analysis)

(using the column points as cases): $r = -0.111$ $(ns.)$. This is a desired feature in an exploratory analysis as it reduces variables to fewer dimensions. Figure IV.26 also provides a useful way of interpreting the two dimensions with regard to the initial variables. The variables are sorted by the values for dominant voice. The first few variables represent the non-interventionist indicators (high negative values on 'dominant voice'): The conduit publicity frame, long candidate soundbite, issue soundbites and policy & polity topics are the main variables indicating a reporting style with a dominant political voice. At the other end of the scale, the journalistic soundbite type as well as short candidate soundbites indicate reporting styles with a dominant journalistic voice. These findings concur with the results identified so far: The presence of many journalist soundbites and rather short candidate soundbites implies a dominant journalist voice (i.e., interventionism with regard to form), while long candidate soundbites, substantial topics and publicity conduit frames represent a dominant candidate voice (i.e., non-interventionism with regard to form). This can be repeated for the

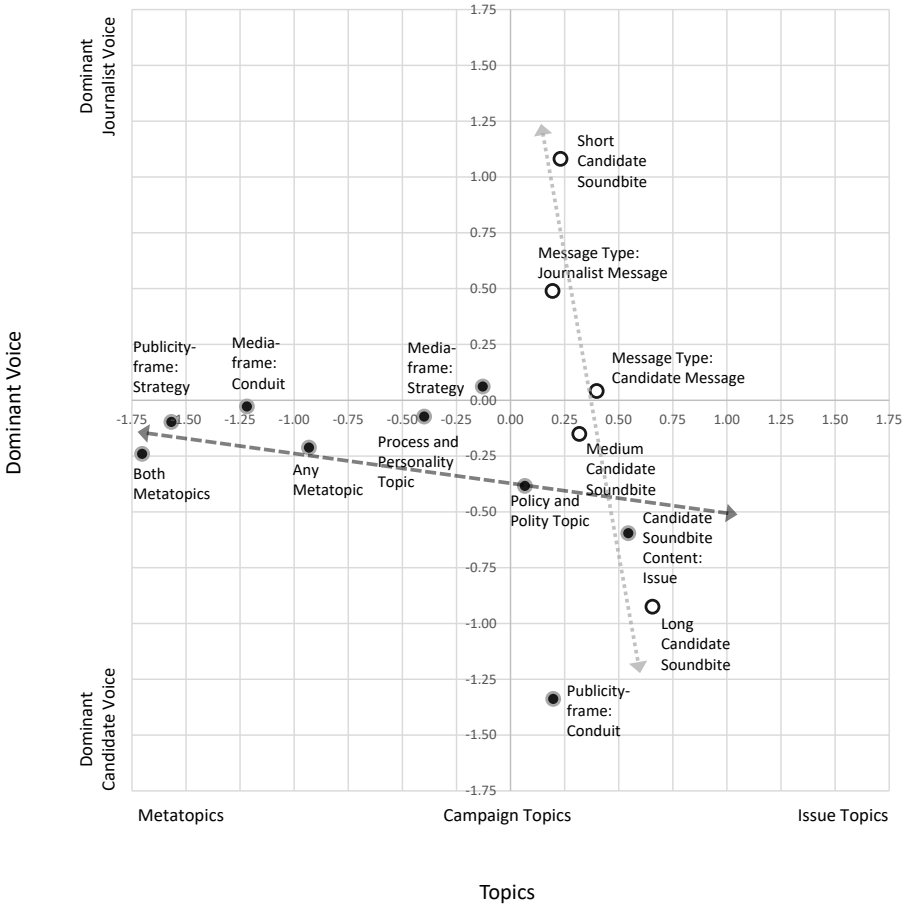


Figure IV.27: Linking Topics and Interventionism (Corresp. Analysis)

topics dimension: High values are found for long candidate soundbites and issue soundbites (i.e., non-interventionism with regard to content), while low values represent the metacoverage topics and -frames (i.e., high interventionism with regard to content). The variables showing average values just below the point of origin indicate the campaign topics (mainly process & personality topics, but to some degree also the media strategy frame). These bar charts are obviously only different ways of displaying the patterns in Figure IV.27 (p. 160): Thus, the interpretation of the two figures is similar. However, the second chart is still useful as it focuses on different features (extreme values of the dimensions) compared to the XY plot (relative location with respect to the point of origin and vertical or horizontal patterns).

Locating the Cases The last step in the correspondence analysis is to check the location of all TV channels in the XY plot. This form of visualization is discussed in detail in the explanation of the cluster analysis in section IV.2.2 (p. 163). The first consideration, however, is once again the values (χ^2-distances) for each case in each of the two dimensions (i.e., the correspondence analysis row points; see Table B.8, p. 276). These values are shown again in Figure IV.28 (p. 161) using a bar chart sorted by the dominant voice dimension.

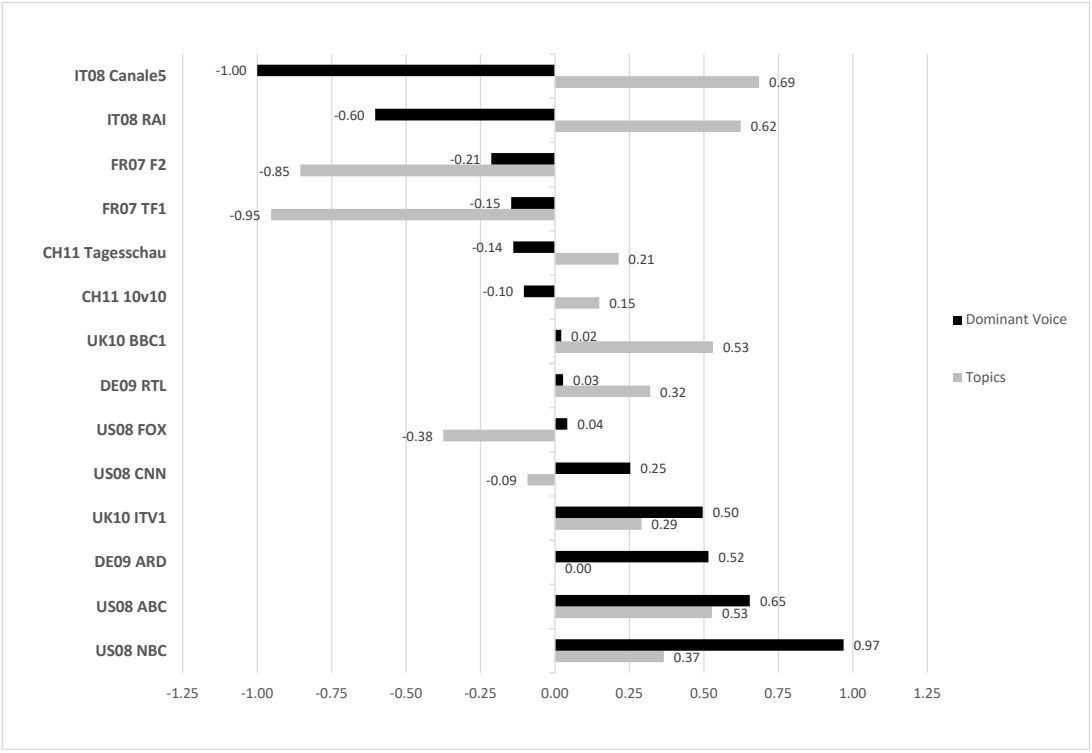


Figure IV.28: Dim. of Reporting Styles: Cases (Corresp. Analysis)

This bar chart exemplifies several things. Firstly, the two dimensions do not correlate with each other ($r = -0.011, ns.$). While the number of cases ($N = 14$) is low, a correlation coefficient so close to zero is a strong indicator of independence between these two dimensions – the correlation using the column points (cases) thus provides an even stronger indication of this than the correlation based on the row points (variables). Again, this is a desirable result and an aim in correspondence analysis, so it would be surprising if the two dimensions correlated: The whole point of exploratory methods

combining variables into dimensions (such as correspondence analysis, factor analysis, multidimensional scaling, etc.) is that the resulting factors are not dependant on each other. However, this result still makes a crucial point, i.e., that the two dimensions should not be interpreted separately when discussing cases, but only together. Only the pattern of both dimensions combined determines the type of journalistic reporting style shown by a TV channel. Interpreting the values like this on the basis of Figure IV.28 (p. 161) provides three distinct patterns of topic and dominant voice dimensions, with several "hybrid" models displaying patterns in between the unique extreme cases. Firstly (1), the Italian channels have very high values on the topic dimension and very low values on the dominant voice dimension, i.e., the pattern of a non-interventionist (e.g., Esser, 2008) reporting style with long and many candidate soundbites that often incorporate issue topics. Secondly (2), the French channels show a different pattern: While TF1 and F2 also show a slightly more dominant candidate voice (but less than the Italian channels), they have the lowest values for the topic dimension, indicating a high amount of metacoverage (and thus high degrees of interventionism with regard to content). In the nomenclature of Esser (2008), this style would be labeled "moderately interventionist" – in the study at hand, two different dimensions of interventionism are identified. Finally (3), the pattern of the US broadcast channels (and to a lesser degree the German public broadcaster ARD as well as the British private channel ITV1 and US network channel CNN) is that of a further interventionist style: High values of the dominant voice dimension and relatively low values (near zero) for the topic dimension, indicating a prevalence of campaign topics. Regarding the remaining countries and channels, Switzerland conforms to the Italian pattern but displays fewer extreme values. Similarly, BBC1 and RTL are "light" versions of the US-American pattern. These four channels sit "in between" the models and are considered hybrid types, displaying features of both patterns (with the Swiss channels tending more

towards the Italian style and RTL and BBC1 showing a tendency towards the US style). The last remaining channel, FOX, aconforms to the French style, but with fewer metatopics and a slightly more dominant journalistic voice. The aim of the next section (IV.2.2, p. 163) is to check whether these descriptive patterns also manifest themselves on the basis of a cluster analysis.

IV.2.2 Models of the Typology: Cluster Analysis

The two dimensions discussed in section IV.2.1 (p. 149) and visualized in Figures IV.27 and IV.28 (p. 160 and 161) are included in a simple k-means *cluster analysis* in the following step. While the "factors" identified in the correspondence analysis represent the dimensions of the reporting style typology, the aim of the cluster analysis is to build a scale indicating the affiliation of each case to a *model of (non-)interventionist election campaign reporting styles*. In other words, the scale must reproduce the patterns of cases that are spanned by the two correspondence analysis dimensions. The first consideration is, once again, the XY plot of the correspondence analysis, but with the cases displayed in the graph (Figure IV.29, p. 164).[58] This is simply a different visualization of the coordinates found in Figure IV.28 (p. 161).[59]

The *three styles* identified in subsection IV.2.1.3 (p. 157) on the basis of the bar chart (Figure IV.28, p. 161) are also visible in Figure IV.29 (p. 164). The first cluster incorporates the Italian and Swiss channels, BBC1 and RTL. They show a dominant candidate voice and a focus on issue topics.

[58] Mm: Cases and variables should not be shown in the same graph, since the interpoint distances of the two axes are rescaled and thus not comparable; see footnote 54 (p. 150).

[59] Note: The scale has changed in Figure IV.29 (p. 164) and is not the same as in Figures IV.24, IV.25, IV.27 and IV.28 (p. 151, 156, 160 and 161). This is due to the cluster analysis procedures which demand z-standardization (see equation B.14, p. 280) of the input variables (see section B.2.1.2, p. 278 for detailed explanations). Since it makes sense to add the cluster centers in Figure IV.29 (i.e., not only the cases), the z-standardized χ^2-distances have been used. The "Venn diagrams" also represent membership of each case according to the QCA calibration, not the cluster analysis results (also see footnotes 60 and 83, p. 166 and 282). The documentation and justification of the QCA calibration can be found in subsection B.2.2.1 (p. 289).

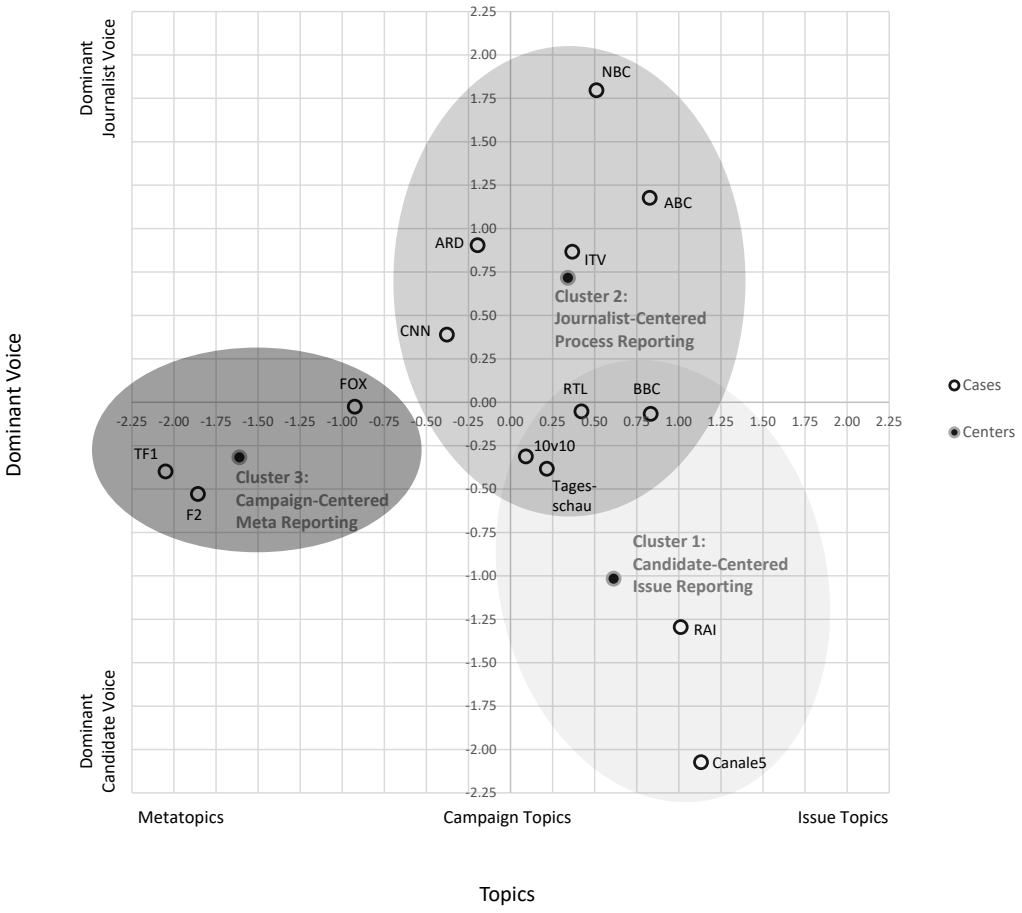


Figure IV.29: Three Models of Reporting Styles (Cluster Analysis)

This is the pattern of a non-interventionist reporting style that follows the political logic rather than the media logic. The second cluster includes the US (except FOX), British, Swiss and German channels. These channels are much more interventionist, displaying an emphasis on campaign topics. The third cluster groups the two French channels and FOX, displaying a moderately dominant journalistic voice and a strong metacoverage presence. This represents another dimension of interventionism, but highlighting content features (topics) rather than formal characteristics (dominant voice). These results conform to the conclusions drawn in the discussion of the correspondence analysis dimensions (section IV.2.1.3, p. 157) and to the anticipation of reporting style indicators and patterns provided by the descriptive analyses (section IV.1, p. 103). The cluster analysis perfectly reproduces this pattern as well. In that sense, we can answer research ques-

tion 4 (p. 57) which asks what models of election campaign reporting styles are found on the basis of relevant soundbite and metacoverage indicators. Cases are grouped into three distinct types of reporting styles along the two dimensions of the dominant voice (dominant journalist voice vs. candidate voice) and topic structures (metatopics, campaign topics and issue topics). The three types include a non-interventionist style showing issue topics ("candidate-centered issue reporting"), a highly interventionist style that tends to focus on campaign topics ("journalist-centered process reporting") and a second interventionist style using many metatopics ("campaign-centered meta reporting"). With regard to hypothesis 1 (p. 58), it is possible to reach the conclusion that the three models are indeed comparable to those identified by Esser (2008). The typology in this study refines the models even further by detailing the topic structure of the news stories, a set of variables not directly present in the purely soundbite-based study by Esser (2008).

Several aspects of the three identified models of journalistic election campaign reporting styles must be explained. Most importantly, each model is discussed and labelled in the following subsections (IV.2.2.1, IV.2.2.2 and IV.2.2.3, p. 166, 168 and 171). It is also useful to highlight prototypical cases, borderline (or "hybrid") cases and extreme cases of each model (cf. section III.3.2, p. 97). In a nutshell, prototypical cases are those close to the cluster centers, borderline cases are those at the intersection with other models and extreme cases are those farthest away from the other models (proximity in terms of Euclidean distances; see equations B.15 and B.16, p. 282 and 282 as well as footnote 83, p. 282). Since the two dimensions represent the topics prominently featured in campaign reporting as well as the dominant voice, the three models must be discussed along these dimensions. A separate subsection is dedicated to each model of journalistic election campaign reporting style (subsections IV.2.2.1, IV.2.2.2 and IV.2.2.3, p. 166, 168 and 171).

Note: It is possible that "members" of a cluster are farther away from their respective cluster center than non-members. This is due to the fact that they can be at the two different "extremes" of a scale: For example, an "extreme case" very far away from its cluster center and also far away from all other models might be farther away from the center than a "borderline case" that is at the "transition" from one model to the next. This can clearly be seen in the plots: For example, see BBC1 and Canale5 in the first cluster (cf. Figures IV.29 and IV.30, p. 164 and 168). Canale5 is an "extreme case", very close to the bottom of the plot. But BBC1 is a "borderline case" at the intersection of the first and second model. It is actually closer to the first cluster center than Canale5, but (according to the cluster analysis) belongs to the second cluster (because it is closer to the second cluster than the first one). Please also see the explanation in footnote 83 (p. 282).[60]

IV.2.2.1 Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting

The first model to discuss is the cluster representing the non-interventionist style which has many issue topics. This style of coverage not only grants a great deal of space to candidate messages, but also allows the politicians to deliver long candidate soundbites. Accordingly, it signifies an adherence to the political logic rather than the media logic. Furthermore, the content found in these campaigns and the respective coverage features plenty of issue topics, discussing political plans, substantial policy considerations, the polit-

[60] A further explanation is necessary regarding the visualization of the "belonging" of cases to clusters or models. In the bar charts depicting the Euclidean distances of each case to each cluster center (Figures IV.30, IV.31 and IV.32, p. 168, 170 and 172), membership of a case to the respective cluster is represented by black bars. The fact that "extreme cases" can be farther away than cases that, according to the cluster analysis, do not belong to the respective cluster, is clearly visible in the three bar charts. Comparing these indications of "memberships" with the visualization according to the XY plot in Figure IV.29 (p. 164), it is clear that they do not completely overlap. The "Venn diagrams", however, depict the membership of cases according to how the three models have been calibrated into fuzzy sets in preparation of the QCA (cf. footnote 59, p. 163 and section B.2.2.1, p. 289). This is how the models are eventually applied, reported and explained (by means of QCA), which is why they are represented in this way in the XY plot. In the bar charts showing the Euclidean distances to each cluster (Figures IV.30, IV.31 and IV.32, p. 168, 170 and 172), the threshold can be identified by checking for large "gaps" in the data, usually located just after the "'last" case still showing a black bar.

ical and voting system, and so on. It is coverage that is focused very much on the candidates of the campaign and discusses issues and policies. The style has therefore been dubbed **"candidate-centered issue reporting"**. As this reporting style follows the political rather than the media logic, it is "resisting" the mediatization trends identified in the literature to some degree. It is thus found in media systems showing little media commercialization and campaign professionalism.

Normatively, this can mean (optimistically) that the politicians are allowed to present meaningful content in the election campaign and that journalists try to provide a neutral discussion about the political system and the actual political choices present. From a pessimistic normative perspective, however, the conclusion is that this style is an indicator of "lapdog journalism" that is not prepared to criticize political elites and is basically degraded into a pure mouthpiece of the politicians. It is very difficult to draw a watertight conclusion about this normative aspect on the sole basis of aggregated, quantitative data, but the discussion is taken up again in the conclusion of this study (see chapter V, p. 201).

Each case must be discussed in detail. Figure IV.30 (p. 168) shows the Euclidean distances of each case to the first cluster center. RAI1 is the prototypical case of candidate-centered issue reporting. It is placed closest to the respective cluster center and in the middle of the bottom right-hand section of the plot, making the channel a perfect example of this reporting style. Canale5, on the other hand, is an extreme case in this model. It is farthest away from the cluster center out of all cases belonging to this cluster. In fact, it is farther away than some cases that are not actually members of this cluster (BBC1, RTL; see footnotes 59, 60 and 83, p. 163, 166 and 282 for detailed explanations of this "anomaly"). Looking at the XY plot (Figure IV.29, p. 164), it is obvious that Canale5 is an extreme case (or "outlier") in this cluster. It has the lowest value of dominant voice (i.e., a dominant political voice) and the highest number of issue topics

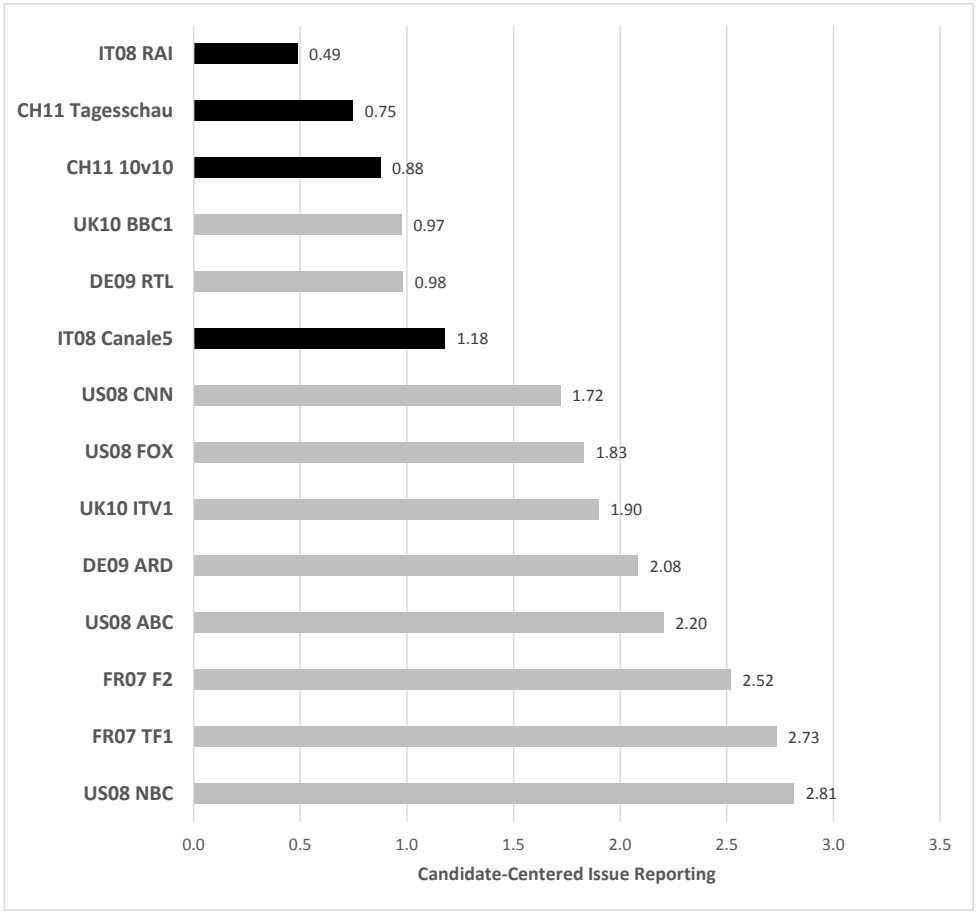


Figure IV.30: Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting (Cluster Analysis)

out of all cases. Journalists in this channel are clearly non-interventionist and allow the candidates plenty of space. The Swiss channels are simple members of this cluster, but less typical than RAI1 and situated near the other two models and close to the point of origin of the two dimensions (cf. Figure IV.29, p. 164). They count as hybrid cases. Finally, there are two further hybrid cases: RTL and BBC1 that, according to the cluster analysis, would belong to the second cluster: These are calibrated into both clusters during the QCA because they are closer than an extreme case (Canale5).

IV.2.2.2 Journalist-Centered Process Reporting

A second journalistic reporting style with a dominant journalist voice and primarily campaign topics emerges from the correspondence- and cluster analysis. This is the typical model of an interventionist, mediatized re-

porting style: Journalists grant the candidates few opportunities to present themselves in the media and prefer to discuss the campaign and candidates in their own words. With regard to the content of campaign coverage, the focus is on processes (such as the latest poll results) and personalities (such as mistakes made by the candidates and evaluations of their character) rather than issues and policies. This has therefore been labelled **"journalist-centered process reporting"**. It is an indicator of a highly mediatized system, showing a great deal of campaign professionalism, media commercialization and hence fierce competition in the media for the attention of recipients. In other words, journalists following this style adhere to the media logic and consequently show many facets of interventionism.

Normatively, the optimistic outlook is to interpret this reporting style as a form of "watchdog journalism" that is critical towards the powers that be and closely watches the actions of elites. Journalists following this model do not simply convey politicians' messages without comment, but put it in the context of campaigning processes and reformulate arguments using their own words. Pessimistically, it is a highly mediatized form of coverage that leaves no room for substantial policy debates, focusing instead on polls, non-issues, "horse race" frames and campaign tactics. The fierce competition among media organizations due to the high degree of media commercialization and campaign professionalism leads to cynical and fast-moving coverage with fewer resources for substantial investigations and high-quality reporting. In that sense, the possible advantages and disadvantages of "candidate-centered issue reporting" and "journalist-centered process reporting" are the reverse image of each other: The positive features as well as challenges of each style are missing in the other.

Figure IV.31 (p. 170) shows the Euclidean distances of each TV channel to the cluster center of journalist-centered process reporting. ITV1 is a typical case of this reporting style: It is located closest to the cluster center. The extreme case is NBC: It has the highest degree of a dominant journalist

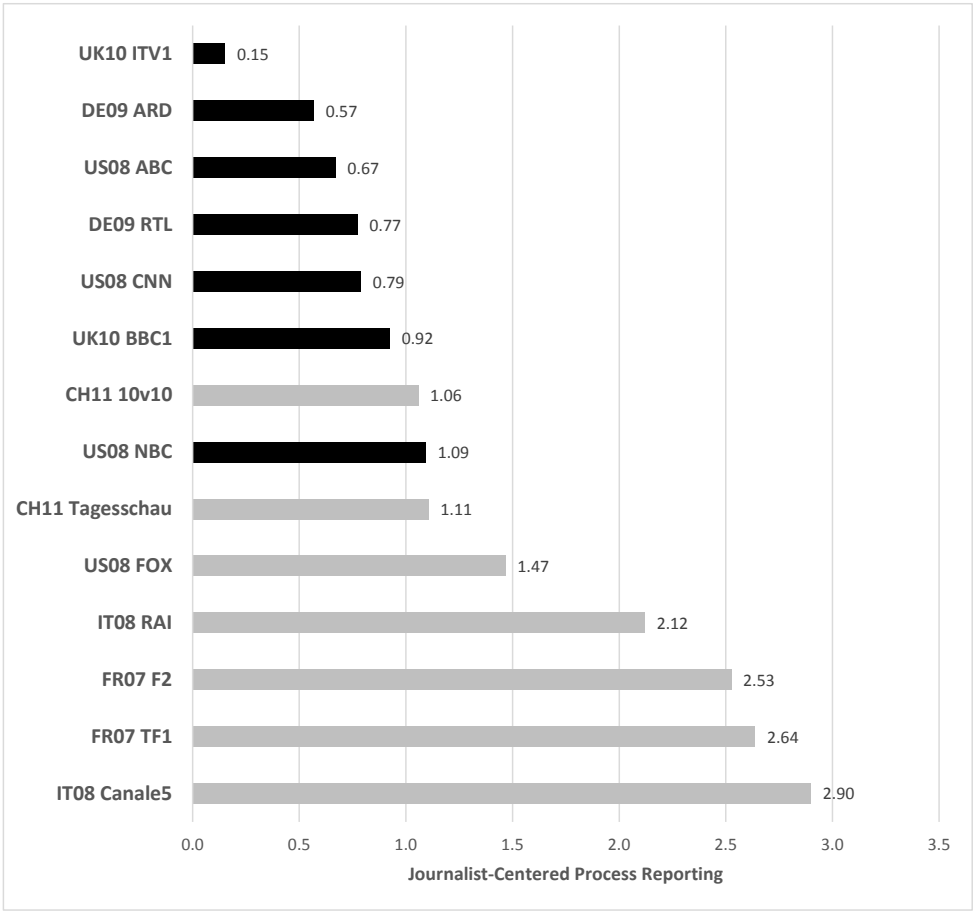


Figure IV.31: Journalist-Centered Process Reporting (Cluster Analysis)

voice, half a unit of standard deviation higher than ABC with the second highest (cf. Figures IV.28 and IV.29, p. 161 and 164). It is noteworthy that ABC and NBC show the most dominant journalist voice: The assumption would be that while the extreme cases of these styles are US channels, the network channels that feature 24/7 news programs should provide an even more mediatized environment than the broadcast channels. The results of the study at hand actually show that the network channels tend to report according to an entirely different reporting style: The two US broadcast channels tend to report stories in their own words and frames, leaving the politicians little space to present themselves and have a great deal of content regarding campaign processes and personalities (such as polls, campaign tactics, evaluations of the character of candidates, and so on). When considering hybrid cases, it has already been mentioned that this second style

is akin to a "mirror image" of the first one: In this instance, RTL and BBC1 are slightly more typical members, while the Swiss channels are clearly hybrid cases with aspects of both styles. Thus, each of these four cases is present in the first two reporting styles; see Figure IV.29 (p. 164; see also the discussion about the occurrence of "multiple membership" in footnotes 59, 60 and 83, p. 163, 166 and 282). The German public channel ARD and US network channel CNN are borderline cases (but are actually members of only one style) that are located on the transition to the third reporting style. This aspect is discussed further in the next subsection.

IV.2.2.3 Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting

The third and final model is the cluster representing another type of interventionist reporting (with regard to news content) that has a great deal of metacoverage. In terms of the dominant voice, these channels are very similarly located on the transition between the first and second style (the Swiss channels as well as RTL and BBC1). The cluster center (i.e., the "mean" of the style) shows a slightly more dominant journalist voice than the candidate-centered issue reporting, though – indicating slightly more interventionist reporting on average in the third style (see Figure IV.29, p. 164). However, this is also connected to lower variance present within the third style (fewer cases belong to this model). The cluster center of the third style is also located very close to the horizontal axis (while the other two styles are clearly placed below and above the horizontal axis). Taken together, these aspects indicate that the campaign process itself is the main focus in this style rather than candidates or journalists: It has thus been dubbed **"campaign-centered meta reporting"**. This style is more difficult to interpret than the first two, clear cut styles: As summarized in Table II.2 (p. 43), the sheer presence of so many metatopics is an indicator for a reporting style adhering to the media logic (with a focus on the content rather than formal features); however, the counter-intuitively dominant

candidate voice presents challenges in this interpretation. As theorized, aspects of metacoverage and soundbites both address mediatization and journalistic interventionism, but these aspects are not necessarily congruent. Interventionism in the form of short candidate soundbites is much more formal than the presence of metacoverage, which indicates some sort of self-reflection. They are two different dimensions of interventionist reporting styles.

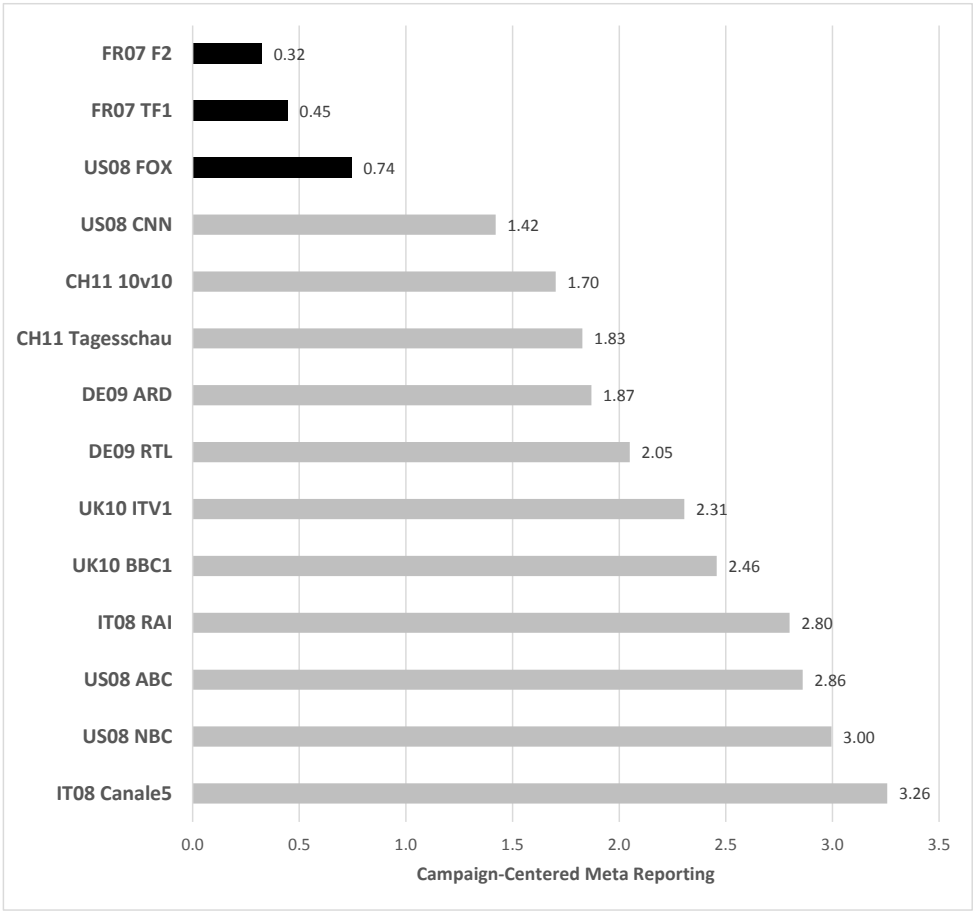


Figure IV.32: Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting (Cluster Analysis)

Normatively, the assessment is ambivalent. Optimistically, the high prevalence of metacoverage is an opportunity to criticize the established media and political institutions in order to enlighten the citizens of a democratic society about the processes, intentions and techniques prevalent during election campaigns. However, the descriptive findings on metacoverage frames (subsection IV.1.2.2, p. 130) unmistakably show that accountability

frames are hardly ever used (see Table IV.5, p. 132).

Figure IV.32 (p. 172) again shows the Euclidean distances of each TV channel to the cluster center. The two French channels TF1 and F2 are the typical cases that are close to the cluster center. There is no clear extreme case. The US network channel FOX, however, can be considered a borderline case: The two network channels FOX and CNN are close to each other, each on the border of its own model, but clearly part of their respective models. In other words, they do not show as much ambiguity as RTL, BBC1 and the Swiss channels, which must be interpreted as "hybrid" channels incorporating aspects of both candidate-centered issue reporting and journalist-centered process reporting. This fact is clearly observable in Figure IV.29 (p. 164). FOX shows a more dominant journalist voice and is located further towards the middle campaign topics than the two French channels.

IV.2.3 Synopsis of the Exploratory Analysis

Before turning to the explanatory step of the analysis (section IV.3, p. 181), this section summarizes the *key insights* of the exploratory analysis. The first subsection is dedicated to emphasizing the substantial *findings of the exploratory analysis* and their implications (section IV.2.3.1, p. 174). The second part (section IV.2.3.2, p. 177) tackles a further aspect: To confirm the productiveness as well as robustness of the exploratory analysis, a methodological *cross-validation* is presented briefly (further methodological details can be found in the appendix, section B.2.1.3, p. 283). By processing the data with factor analysis instead of correspondence analysis, a more common methodological approach is checked against the correspondence analysis to reveal both the robustness of the analysis (i.e., that the two methods result in comparable typologies), as well as advantages and disadvantages of both procedures.

IV.2.3.1 Summary of the Exploratory Analysis

The exploratory analysis applying correspondence analysis to identify dimensions of reporting styles and cluster analysis to extract models of reporting styles has been proven to work smoothly and produce useful results in this study. Combining two methodological approaches like this is standard procedure in exploratory analyses: The first step reduces the number of variables ("identifying dimensions"), the second step groups the cases ("identifying models"). The result is an empirical typology on the basis of the original variables, creating empirical scales both for the dimensions as well as the models of the typology. Research question 2 (p. 57) that is concerned on broad terms with patterns of reporting styles can be answered satisfactorily. The soundbites and metacoverage indicators firstly result in two distinct dimensions of reporting styles: The dominant voice (political vs. journalist voice) and the news stories' topic structure. On the basis of these two dimensions, three unique election campaign reporting styles can be identified using clustering methods. These three styles are strikingly similar, although slightly more refined, to the types found by Esser (2008), confirming hypothesis 1 (p. 58). The dimensions and models are discussed in further detail below.

The *correspondence analysis* in this study extracts two dimensions of journalistic reporting styles: On the one hand, the topics present in campaign coverage (metatopics, campaign topics and issue topics) are a crucial dimension whilst on the other hand, the dominant voice (dominant journalist vs. political voice) is a second dimension of journalistic election campaign reporting styles. One dimension is concerned with the *content* of the coverage ("What topics are present in TV stories and candidate soundbites?"), while the other represents the *form* of coverage ("What aspects of media-centrism can be found in TV news?"). The two dimensions are statistically independent of each other and clearly discriminate between the empirical cases. They can thus form the basis of the *cluster analysis*

that is able to identify three models of reporting styles. Using Euclidean distances, the proximity of each case to each cluster center can be calculated and subsequently used as a scale for each reporting style.

One cluster of cases shows a dominant candidate voice and a tendency towards issue topics *(candidate-centered issue reporting)*. It mainly incorporates Italian and Swiss channels, with RAI1 acting as a prototypical case (very close to the cluster center) and Canale5 as an extreme case. The Swiss channels as well as German private channel RTL and British public broadcaster BBC1 are hybrid cases (with membership of multiple models). A second cluster shows a dominant journalist voice and a focus on campaign topics *(journalist-centered process reporting)*. The British private channel ITV1 is typical of this cluster and closest to the cluster center, while US broadcast channel NBC is the extreme example of this reporting style. Swiss channels as well as RTL and BBC1 are again hybrid cases; they have multiple memberships in these first two clusters. Furthermore, German public channel ARD and US-American network channel CNN are borderline cases; they are located on the transition towards the third cluster (without having actual multiple memberships). Finally, the third cluster shows an even voice (basically the average of all cases) and a high number of metatopics, frequently bringing up the presence and role of journalists, media organizations, campaign professionals and PR measures such as advertisements and marketing in the election campaign coverage *(campaign-centered meta reporting)*. The prototypical cases are the two French channels and the US network channel FOX which are located on the border to the second reporting style (without multiple memberships).

While (as has been mentioned) these results are similar to the findings of Esser (2008), some *differences* exist to the respective correspondence analysis (see Esser, 2008, p. 422-425): Most notably, the French channels are portrayed as less interventionist in this study. The very "sacerdotal" (Semetko et al., 1991) Italian channels are not present in Esser (2008), whose

presence in this study shifts and enlarges the whole scale of interventionism, creating more variance among the channels. Furthermore, the two German channels behave slightly different: RTL is much closer to the US style in the findings of Esser (2008), while in this study it is a hybrid case that also partially belongs to the non-interventionist style of candidate-centered issue reporting, having features of both types of reporting style. Similar findings can be drawn regarding the British channels. Of course, the analysis in this study includes further variables (from the metacoverage project) in order to draw a more detailed picture of media-centrism, which influences the resulting empirical typology. Furthermore, except for France, the elections sampled in this study are held later than the elections in the paper by Esser (2008), which also indicates differences across time (between elections) within countries: Election campaigns seem to be a very event-driven institution that can change according to short term contextual factors. For example, the findings of Esser (2008) indicate a much more aggressive campaigning and more media-centered campaign coverage in the German election than the findings in the study at hand. An ad-hoc explanation for this can be found by looking at the results of the two German elections (2005 and 2009): The 2005 election brought about a "Grand coalition" of the CDU/CSU and SPD, indicating that the two main parties fought a very close race and ended with similar ballot results, forcing them into a coalition. In 2009, the CDU/CSU and FDP could comfortably reach their goals of being able to form a center-right coalition, allowing them to conduct a more cooperative campaign. The finding that election campaigns are unique and self-contained events that differ more across time and countries than across channels also explains the almost complete lack of differences between public and private TV channels (see section IV.1, p. 103): Simply put, they report the same unique facts about the same events, with only slightly differing frames and interpretations. In other words, what happens in the election is more important than the ownership structure of the channels – at least

regarding the countries analyzed in this study.

IV.2.3.2 Cross-Validating the Explorative Analysis

In order to test the robustness of the identified typology, the exploratory analysis is cross-validated using a more common, but slightly less suitable analysis: *Factor analysis* is used instead of correspondence analysis (also followed by cluster analysis) to be able to compare the results. Various adaptations have to be made to the data in order to use factor analysis – for example, the data must be aggregated in a slightly different way and a much lower number of variables can be processed. To guarantee an analogous approach to the correspondence analysis, factor scores for the two resulting factors are saved into the data file and subsequently used to render three distinct clusters.[61] As with Figure IV.29 (p. 164), Figure IV.33 (p. 178) shows the equivalent graph plotting the factor scores ("dimensions") and the identified clusters ("models").

In general terms, the factor analysis *confirms the robustness* of the correspondence analysis, providing very similar results in comparable calculations. The dimensionality (as indicated by the factor loadings) can be interpreted in a similar way to the correspondence dimensions, showing some overlap between the two methods of calculating the typology (see Table B.11, p. 285 in the appendix for the factor loadings and communalities). With the exception of CNN, which shifts from journalist-centered process reporting to campaign-centered meta-reporting, no TV channels are classified differently by the subsequent cluster analysis. Correlations between the two ways of calculating the typology are moderately strong and significant both for the two dimensions, as well as the three distances to the types (see section B.2.1.3, p. 283 in the appendix for the values). Thus, it can be concluded that the typology is robust against methodological

[61] For further methodological details, see section B.2.1.3 (p. 283) in appendix B.2.1. Also note footnote 86 (p. 285) discussing some adaptations in the labelling of Figure IV.33 (p. 178).

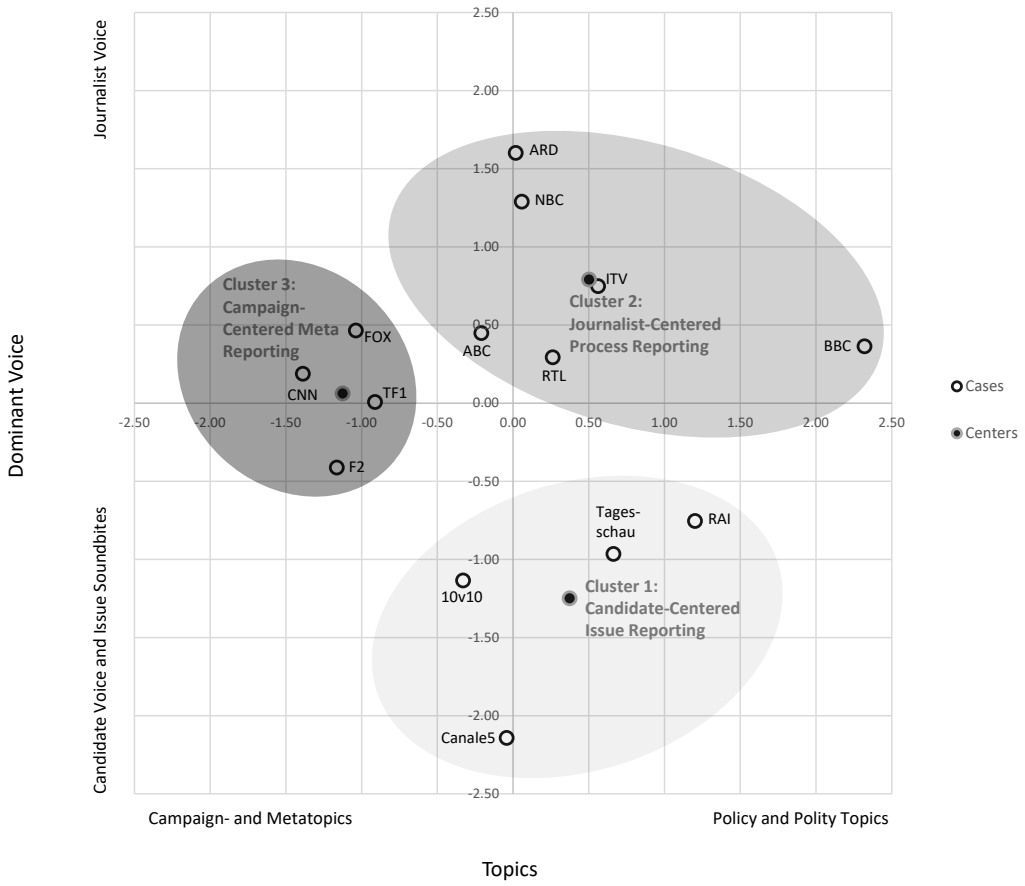


Figure IV.33: Reporting Styles Using Factor Analysis (Cross-Validation)

artifacts and that the data are suitable for a typology of journalistic election campaign reporting styles: Similar exploratory methods produce comparable typologies.

However, through closer investigation of the details and by focusing on *differences* between the two methods reveals some *remarkable advantages of the correspondence analysis*. To achieve this, the actual differences are discussed first in order to be able to subsequently draw some general conclusions about the suitability of each method for typology building.[62] As has been mentioned already, CNN is the only case which has moved to a different type. It is also of note that it even surpasses FOX, the only US TV channel in the respective cluster using correspondence analysis, in terms of campaign and metatopics (see the actual values for the cluster distances in

[62]Mm: Compare Figures IV.29 (p. 164) and IV.33 (p. 178) as well as Tables B.10 (p. 281) and B.12 (p. 287).

Tables B.10, p. 281 and B.12, p. 287). In fact, CNN must be considered the most extreme case of campaign-centered meta-reporting in this calculation. As with the correspondence analysis though, there are no distinct typical- or extreme cases in this model. In contrast to the correspondence analysis, the US broadcast vs. cable channels are not in different clusters. Moving to candidate-centered issue reporting, some shifts in the order of cases can be noted. Firstly, the Swiss Tagesschau is now closest to the cluster center and can be considered the most typical case for this cluster rather than the Italian public broadcaster RAI1. There is also a greater distinction between the two Swiss and Italian channels than in the correspondence analysis. Finally, there is also some displacement in journalist-centered process reporting. Most strikingly, BBC1 is a heavy outlier because of its high values on the topic dimension and ARD shows a much more dominant journalist voice than before, actually replacing NBC as an extreme case. British and German channels are separated in both scenarios, but the interpretation is more intuitive with the correspondence analysis.

These slight differences in the classification point to some *general methodological discrepancies* between the two methods. With regard to the dimensionality, the factor analysis produces a solution whose dimensions are much more aligned with the original two content analysis projects than the correspondence analysis (see the factor loadings in Table B.11, p. 285). This highlights an undesirable methodological artifact (for further discussions, see footnotes 56 and 86, p. 157 and 285): The factor analysis at hand tends to reproduce the two different initial input sources, i.e., the two content analysis projects, while correspondence analysis is much more suitable for such an application (i.e., combining various data sources into complex tables for simultaneous processing). Figures IV.29 (p. 164) and IV.33 (p. 178) also show that the correspondence analysis produces a much more coherent solution with less internal variance: BBC1 is such an extreme outlier in the factor analysis (but only along one of the two

dimensions) that it almost constitutes its own cluster. The classification of cases is visibly less scattered across the dimensions. It can thus be concluded that correspondence analysis produces more internally coherent results, while factor analysis reacts very strongly to outliers. Visually, the factor analysis might almost be considered a four type solution: Imagine drawing a line that connects the outer cases in both scenarios (Figures IV.29 and IV.33, p. 164 and p. 178). The resulting line in the correspondence analysis produces a triangle, while the factor analysis provides a (shifted) square, indicating a two- or four type cluster solution. However, a four type cluster solution produces a residual cluster containing only RAI1 and BBC1, which is methodologically undesirable as well as less productive with regard to theoretical considerations than the identification of hybrid (BBC1) and typical types (RAI1) in the correspondence analysis. Obviously, a two type cluster solution using only two initial variables is of no use, as it only reproduces the two original dimensions. Correspondence analysis is able to better identify hybrid cases as well as extreme cases. The Euclidean distances of BBC1 (see Table B.12, p. 287) are so high even within its own cluster that many non-members of journalist-centered process reporting are much closer to the respective model (i.e., cluster center) than BBC1. Apart from the interpretative implications, this greatly complicates the calibration of distances into fuzzy sets when applying QCA.[63] Taken together, all these points show that correspondence analysis is much more discriminating than factor analysis (i.e., results in a better balance between internal and external variance)[64] and especially useful for processing complex tables merged from various data sources (such as aggregated data from different content analyses).

[63] See footnote 60, p. 166 for a discussion of this aspect. For details on the calibration of fuzzy sets, see section B.2.2.1, p. 289).

[64] The explained variance of the two dimensions as reported by each method is strikingly similar: 83.88% for the correspondence and 83.28% for the factor analysis. This is due to the fact that the factor analysis produces greater distances between both the cluster centers as well as the cases within clusters. Of course, it is the aim of each method to explain the initial variance, which also explains the high values found in both cases. It would not be a very good factor analysis if the explained variance was much lower.

IV.3 Explaining Reporting Styles: QCA

Having discussed and summarized the exploratory steps of the analysis, the explanatory part will now be examined (cf. Figure III.1, p. 95). In this section, the aim is to *explain* the three identified election campaign reporting styles using QCA[65] with contextual predictors at the country and channel levels.

According to theoretical and methodological assumptions (see sections II.3, II.4.3 and III.1.3, p. 28, 40 and 76), these independent factors stem from relatively stable institutional features (cf. Figure III.5, p. 101): Factors of the *campaign environment* include the 'cost' of election campaigns (country level), the amount of 'control' candidates exert on campaign communication (channel level) and the 'candidate connections' of metacoverage 'scripts' (channel level). As far as *media structures* are concerned, the type of 'media system' is included as a crucial indicator (country level), as well as the type of 'TV channel' (channel level). These five conditions are used in each QCA explaining the typology, resulting in truth tables with 32 rows (see equation B.28, p. 319). Each election campaign reporting style identified is analyzed and discussed in a dedicated subsection (sections IV.3.1, IV.3.2 and IV.3.3, p. 181, 186 and 192).

IV.3.1 Explaining Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting

The reporting style of *candidate-centered issue reporting* is analyzed first. Six TV channels are members of the set: The Swiss shows Tagesschau and

[65] The QCA method is explained extensively in appendix B.2.2 (p. 288). Details on the nature and calibration of "sets" (as well as the documentation of the calibration applied) can be found in subsection B.2.2.1 (p. 289). For explanations on "set relations" and the documentation of the analysis of necessary conditions in this study, see subsection B.2.2.2 (p. 302). Finally, truth tables and limited diversity (as well as the full documentation of all parsimonious, complex and intermediate QCA solutions in this analysis) are discussed in subsection B.2.2.3 (p. 318). These sections broadly refer to the relevant methodological literature in order to help the reader find relevant recent discussions about this relatively young method.

10v10, the Italian channels RAI1 and Canale5, the German private channel RTL and the British public channel BBC1. Table IV.8 (p. 183) shows the coded truth table of the first analysis.

The *truth table* contains 13 rows with empirical evidence, leaving 19 logical remainders (they are not shown in the table). All channels except the Swiss are assigned to separate rows of the truth table. All cases showing the outcome (RTL, Tagesschau, 10v10, RAI1, BBC1, Canale5) are coded. The raw consistency cutoff at which the outcome was considered unacceptable is thus 0.62. There are no contradictory rows in the truth table.

Minimizing the truth table leads to an intermediate solution showing *four unique solution paths*. The total solution consistency is 0.84, the solution coverage 0.79. These high values for both consistency and coverage are an indicator that the total solution shows a tendency towards being both a sufficient as well as a necessary condition. Figure IV.34 (p. 185) shows the four solution paths and the XY plot of the total solution fuzzy set scores plotted against the membership score of the outcome.

The first step is to *investigate the four different solution paths* that are identified as INUS conditions for candidate-centered issue reporting. The four paths can be split into two main groups of paths, both comprising the combination of two common conditions. Two solution paths both feature expensive campaigns combined with no controlled campaign communication. Combining this context with no meta-focus on left candidates as well public or broadcast channels is sufficient for candidate-centered issue reporting. This path contains the two Swiss channels. Furthermore, the expensive campaign and absence of controlled campaign communication are combined with a meta-focus on left candidates and the absence of the press-oriented or corporatist media system. This path includes the Italian channels RAI1 and Canale5. These *first two solution paths* share the fact that election campaigns are comparatively expensive and that campaign communication is relatively uncontrolled. They comprise the extreme case of this typology

Condition					Outcome	Consistency			Cases
Controlled Campaign Comm.	**Meta-Focus on Left Cand.**	**Public or Broadcast Channel**	**Press. or Corp. Media System**	**Expensive Campaign**	**Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting**	**Raw**	**PRI**	**SYM**	**TV Channels**
1	0	0	1	0	**1**	1.00	1.00	0.68	RTL
0	0	1	1	1	**1**	0.88	0.84	0.77	Tagesschau, 10v10
0	1	1	0	1	**1**	0.77	0.67	0.72	RAI1
0	1	1	1	0	**1**	0.73	0.55	0.64	BBC1
0	1	0	0	1	**1**	0.62	0.09	0.52	Canale5
0	1	1	0	0	**0**	0.52	0.29	0.61	F2
0	0	1	1	0	**0**	0.52	0.24	0.58	ARD
0	0	0	1	0	**0**	0.41	0.03	0.51	ITV1
0	1	0	0	0	**0**	0.39	0.00	0.50	TF1
1	0	0	0	1	**0**	0.36	0.00	0.50	CNN
1	1	0	0	1	**0**	0.36	0.00	0.50	FOX
1	1	1	0	1	**0**	0.33	0.24	0.73	ABC
1	0	1	0	1	**0**	0.13	0.00	0.50	NBC

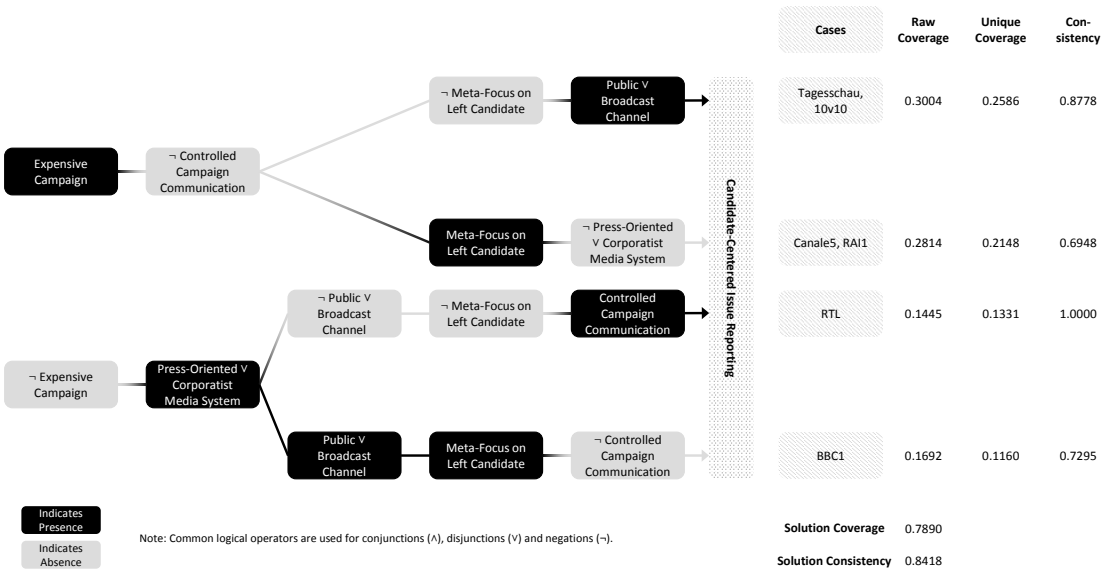
Table IV.8: Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting (Truth Table)

model (Canale5) as well as the prototypical case (RAI1) and the two Swiss cases that are "standard" cases for this style (although bordering to the next style and showing multiple memberships). The two actual borderline (or "hybrid") cases are included in the other two solution paths (RTL and BBC1). The *third and fourth solution paths* also share two conditions: The absence of an expensive campaign and the presence of the press-oriented or corporatist media system. RTL further combines this with not being a public or broadcast channel, not showing a meta-focus on the left candidate, but controlled campaign communication. BBC1, on the other hand, is the exact opposite: It is a public or broadcast channel with a meta-focus on the left candidate, but no controlled campaign communication.

Some *conclusions* can be drawn regarding this QCA. Firstly, expensive campaigns combined with no controlled campaign communication trigger candidate-centered issue reporting (as evidenced by Switzerland and Italy).[66] This combination of conditions implies that candidates can gain an audience by spending a lot of money on their campaign, even passing on strict 'controlled campaign communication' (which, as the theory predicts, could provoke the opposite reaction of more journalistic intervention). In light of the normative assumptions, this fact must be judged critically. It also argues against hypothesis 3c that predicts expensive campaigns to co-occur with highly mediatized settings.

Finally, the *XY plot* depicting the solution must be discussed (Figure IV.34, p. 185). There are neither "true" contradictions nor unexplained cases here (cf. section B.2.2.2, p. 302 and particularly Table B.16, p. 311). Canale5 (out of the cases showing the outcome) as well as ABC, NBC, TF1 and F2 (out of those not showing the outcome) are "untrue" contradictions,

[66] Note that these two conditions (presence of expensive campaign, absence of controlled campaign communication) can be considered (weak) necessary conditions for candidate-centered issue reporting (see Table B.17, p. 314. Also consult the explanations regarding set relations and the patterns of necessity present in this analysis: Section B.2.2.2, p. 302). However, they are not fully consistent necessary conditions and actually show "true" contradictions: RTL and BBC1 regarding expensive campaigns and RTL regarding controlled campaign communication.



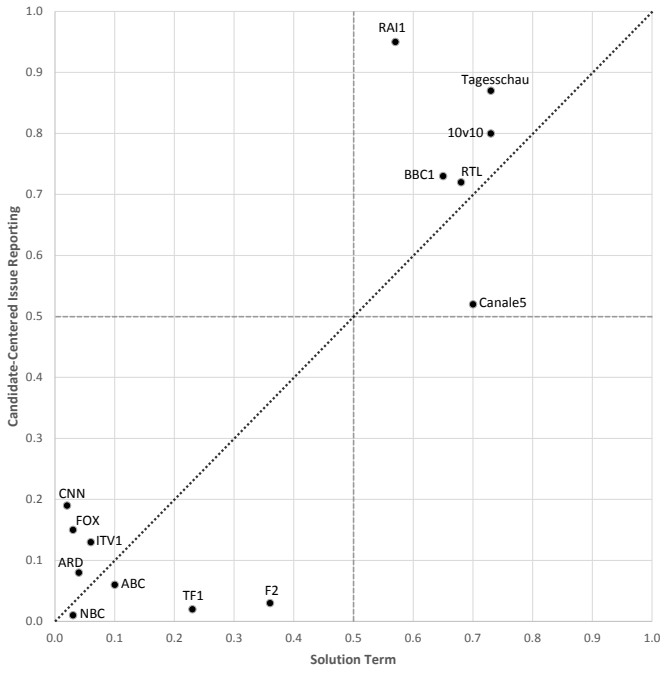


Figure IV.34: Explaining Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting (QCA)

i.e., cases where $X > Y$ (but still either showing both the solution and the outcome or neither the solution nor the outcome). The two US-American broadcast channels ABC and NBC show very low values for this reporting style, which is why they fall below the main diagonal – they are otherwise very similar to the other US channels (as well as RTL and BBC1). The French channels TF1 and F2 show relatively high values for the solution: In

the case of F2, this fuzzy set value is due to the last individual solution path (that explains BBC1) and the high value of F2 for the press-oriented or corporatist media system (0.36); For TF1, the second solution path (explaining the Italian channels) produces the highest fuzzy set value out of all individual solution paths, which can be traced back to the high 'relative cost' of the campaign (0.23). Furthermore, the two Swiss channels show the highest value for the whole solution, which is also caused by the high cost of Swiss campaigns (0.73). The two Italian channels that are considered typical (RAI1) and extreme cases (Canale5) are separated in the plot: They are on the two different edges of the space showing both the outcome as well as the solution. However, this precisely due to the fact that they are the prototypical and extreme case: RAI1's membership value for the solution is far smaller than its value on the outcome. The high membership value in the outcome is due to its proximity to the cluster center, which is also an indicator that RAI1 is a prototypical case for candidate-centered issue reporting. Canale5 is the "mirror image" of it: It is located so far away both from the cluster center and the other reporting styles that it has to be considered an extreme case. Thus, it has an outcome value that is so low that is very close to the point of indifference (a fuzzy set score of 0.5). Consequently, it falls below the main diagonal (as the solution reaches a higher fuzzy set score).

IV.3.2 Explaining Journalist-Centered Process Reporting

The next step is to examine *journalist-centered process reporting*. Nine TV channels are members of the set: Swiss channels Tagesschau and 10v10, German channels RTL and ARD, British channels BBC1 and ITV1, and the US-American channels ABC, NBC and CNN. It is thus the biggest set of the three reporting styles (i.e., incorporating the highest number of cases). Table IV.9 (p. 188) shows the coded truth table of the second QCA.

Again, the *truth table* has 13 rows with empirical evidence, leaving 19 logical remainders (not shown in the table). All channels except the Swiss are assigned to separate truth table rows. All cases showing the outcome (Tagesschau, 10v10, RTL, ARD, BBC1, ITV, ABC, NBC and CNN) are coded. The raw consistency cutoff at which the outcome was considered unacceptable is thus 0.73. This consistency cutoff is higher than that used in the QCA of candidate-centered issue reporting, indicating a more robust solution for journalist-centered process reporting. Also, the difference from the most consistent truth table row not showing the outcome is greater for journalist-centered process reporting than for candidate-centered issue reporting, further indicating that the conditions used in the QCA can better discriminate the cases in the second QCA. Finally, there are no contradictory rows in the truth table.

Minimizing the truth table leads to *four unique solution paths*, two covering the European and two covering the US channels. The total solution consistency is 0.81, the total solution coverage 0.87. The high values of both coverage and consistency point towards a solution that is both sufficient and necessary. The solution path diagram as well as the XY plot are shown in Figure IV.35 (p. 190).

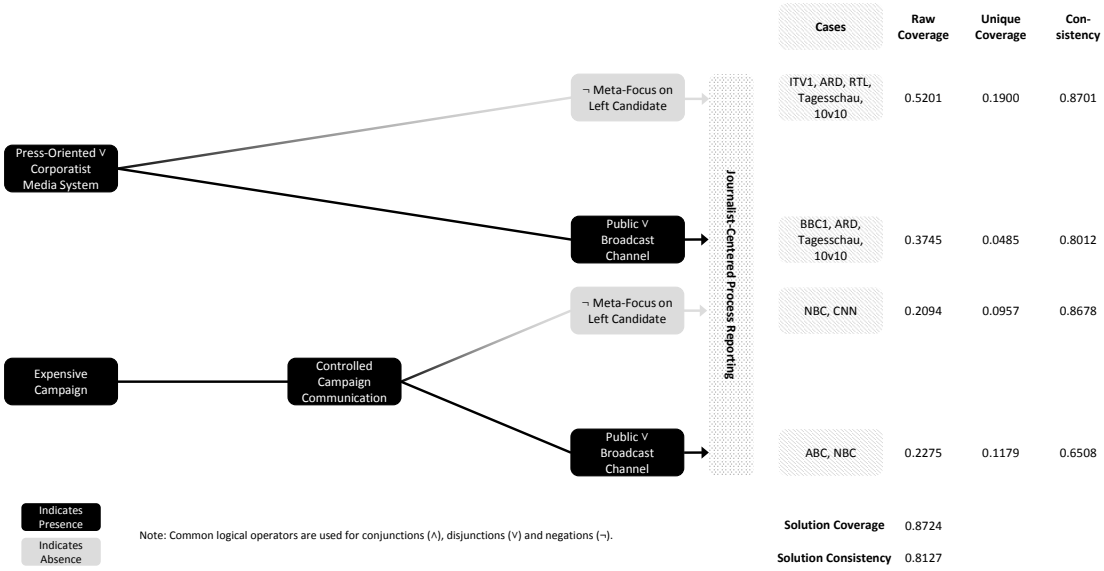
The *four solution paths* identified by the analysis are now examined. As mentioned above, four solution recipes are present in the results (two for European and two for US channels). They are slightly less complex than the solutions for the first journalistic reporting style, containing fewer individual conditions in their INUS-combinations. On examining the *two solution paths explaining the European channels*, it is clear that one of them contains all public channels, while the other also has the private European channels with this reporting style (i.e., ITV1 and RTL). The first path is a combination of the press-oriented or corporatist media system with no meta-focus on the left candidate. ITV1, ARD, RTL, Tagesschau and 10v10 are members of the intersection of these two sets. It is the solution path

Condition					Outcome	Consistency			Cases
Controlled Campaign Comm.	**Meta-Focus on Left Cand.**	**Public or Broadcast Channel**	**Press. or Corp. Media System**	**Expensive Campaign**	**Journalist-Centered Process Reporting**	**Raw**	**PRI**	**SYM**	**TV Channels**
1	0	0	0	1	**1**	1.00	1.00	0.71	CNN
0	0	0	1	0	**1**	1.00	1.00	0.80	ITV1
1	0	0	1	0	**1**	1.00	1.00	0.73	RTL
0	0	1	1	0	**1**	0.84	0.66	0.61	ARD
1	0	1	0	1	**1**	0.75	0.41	0.56	NBC
0	0	1	1	1	**1**	0.75	0.44	0.57	Tagesschau, 10v10
0	1	1	1	0	**1**	0.74	0.52	0.62	BBC1
1	1	1	0	1	**1**	0.73	0.57	0.66	ABC
1	1	0	0	1	**0**	0.41	0.06	0.52	FOX
0	1	1	0	1	**0**	0.41	0.00	0.50	RAI1
0	1	1	0	0	**0**	0.38	0.00	0.50	F2
0	1	0	0	0	**0**	0.22	0.15	0.74	TF1
0	1	0	0	1	**0**	0.14	0.00	0.50	Canale5

Table IV.9: Journalist-Centered Process Reporting (Truth Table)

showing both the highest consistency as well as the highest coverage, which makes this path both the most consistent in terms of sufficiency as well as the most relevant out of all individual solution paths. The second solution path contains the public channels. Again, it combines the press-oriented or corporatist media system with public or broadcast channels, resulting in a set containing BBC1, ARD, Tagesschau and 10v10. This result points to an interpretation that the media structures, i.e., the classical "European" tradition of media systems in combination with publicly funded broadcasters, makes a difference when compared to the privately organized US channels (as well as ITV1 and RTL). Looking at the XY plot of the typology (Figure IV.29, p. 164), these public broadcasters are those located towards the bottom of the respective typology, constituting the hybrid cases between candidate-centered issue reporting and journalist-centered process reporting (ARD is a slight exception). This is an indicator that they have a less interventionist style than "typical" cases in the relevant model (located near the cluster center), which seems to correspond to the two contextual media structure factors (public broadcaster in press-oriented or corporatist media system). Furthermore, the *third and fourth solution paths* describe the three US channels having the outcome (ABC, NBC, CNN). Again, these two paths are very similar: Both show an expensive campaign as well as controlled campaign communication. The third solution path (containing NBC and CNN) combines these two conditions with the absence of a meta-focus on the left candidate. The fourth combines it with the channel type: Public or broadcast channel (Mm: ABC and NBC are members of this set).

Some *conclusions* can be drawn regarding this second analysis. The four solution paths can be grouped into two "main" paths: One group explaining the Central European countries (press-oriented or corporatist media system combined with further conditions) and the other explaining US channels (expensive campaign as well as controlled campaign communication combined with further conditions). These conditions can therefore be



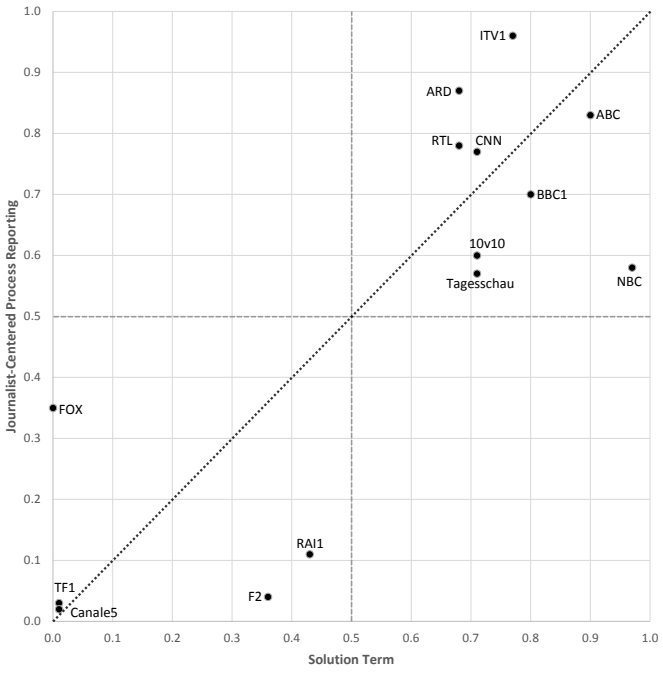


Figure IV.35: Explaining Journalist-Centered Process Reporting (QCA)

interpreted as main contextual conditions that both lead to the respective style of journalist-centered process reporting, but for different reasons. They are combined with different additional indicators such as public or broadcast channels and a meta-focus on the left candidate. In all four solutions, it is either the public or broadcast channel or the (absence of the) meta-focus on the left candidate that is further combined with the main

contextual similarities. Of course, the channel type separates CNN from the US broadcast channels as well as ITV1 and RTL from the rest of the Central European (public) channels. Media structure factors paint a consistent picture with regard to the style of journalist-centered process reporting.

Finally, the *XY plot* depicting the solution must be discussed (Figure IV.35, p. 190). Again, there are neither "true" contradictions nor unexplained cases (cf. section B.2.2.2, p. 302 and particularly Table B.16, p. 311). The plot looks a bit more intuitive than before, with the cases clustering closer to the main diagonal than in the first QCA analyzing candidate-centered issue reporting (of course, this is also evident looking at the greater coverage value in this second solution). However, there are some cases that lie below the main diagonal, which produces the lower consistency value (cf. equation B.21, p. 308). The typical (ITV1) as well as extreme cases (NBC) are in similar locations as in the first QCA: NBC has a high membership in the solution (extreme case), while ITV1 has a high membership in the outcome (typical case). Finally, as far as the cases not showing the outcome are concerned, the Southern European public channels (F2 and RAI1) have relatively high membership values in the solution (albeit still below the threshold for membership): RAI1 has a high value of 0.43 in the complete solution, which is due to the high volume of controlled campaign communication present in Italy (fourth solution path). In France, on the other hand, F2 has a value of 0.36 in the complete solution due to its high membership value in press-oriented or corporatist media system. France is identified as a "hybrid" media system by Büchel et al. (2016, p. 225), which is why it has such a high value (the media system fuzzy set scores are taked directly from Büchel et al., 2016). Of all cases not showing the outcome, FOX is closest to the cluster center of the relevant reporting style and thus has the highest value in the outcome.

IV.3.3 Explaining Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting

The last reporting style to be discussed is *campaign-centered meta reporting*. Only three TV channels are members of the set: The French channels TF1 and F2 and the US-American channel FOX. It is thus the smallest set of the three reporting styles (i.e., incorporating the lowest number of cases). Table IV.10 (p. 193) shows the coded truth table of the final analysis.

Again, the *truth table* has 13 rows with empirical evidence, leaving 19 logical remainders (not shown in the table). All channels except the Swiss are assigned to separate rows of the truth table. All cases showing the outcome (TF1, F2, FOX) are coded. The raw consistency cutoff at which the outcome was considered unacceptable is thus 0.63. This consistency cutoff is again lower than that used in the QCA of journalist-centered process reporting and similar to the cutoff value for candidate-centered issue reporting (although with a greater difference to the most consistent truth table row not showing the outcome). Finally, there are no contradictory rows in the truth table.

Minimizing the truth table leads to *two unique solution paths*, one covering the French channels and one for FOX. The total solution consistency is 0.67 and the total solution coverage 0.69. These are the lowest values of the three analyses, indicating that it is the least consistent solution and that it covers only a few cases. Again, the similar value for the solution coverage and consistency point to a solution that is sufficient as well as necessary. Figure IV.36 (p. 196) shows the solution paths as well as the XY plot of the solution.

Investigating the two solution paths identified by the truth table analysis shows that both paths share two conditions: The absence of the press-oriented or corporatist system and a meta-focus on the left candidate. On the one hand, this indicates that campaign-centered meta reporting does not

Condition					Outcome	Consistency			Cases
Controlled Campaign Comm.	**Meta-Focus on Left Cand.**	**Public or Broadcast Channel**	**Press. or Corp. Media System**	**Expensive Campaign**	**Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting**	**Raw**	**PRI**	**SYM**	**TV Channels**
0	1	1	0	0	**1**	0.67	0.60	0.79	F2
1	1	0	0	1	**1**	0.67	0.46	0.63	FOX
0	1	0	0	0	**1**	0.63	0.59	0.87	TF1
0	1	1	1	0	**0**	0.48	0.35	0.72	BBC1
0	1	1	0	1	**0**	0.44	0.26	0.64	RAI1
0	0	1	1	0	**0**	0.44	0.24	0.63	ARD
1	0	0	0	1	**0**	0.43	0.00	0.50	CNN
0	0	1	1	1	**0**	0.37	0.17	0.60	Tagesschau, 10v10
0	1	0	0	1	**0**	0.32	0.22	0.72	Canale5
1	0	1	0	1	**0**	0.26	0.16	0.69	NBC
1	0	0	1	0	**0**	0.24	0.00	0.50	RTL
0	0	0	1	0	**0**	0.17	0.00	0.50	ITV1
1	1	1	0	1	**0**	0.16	0.08	0.64	ABC

Table IV.10: Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting (Truth Table)

occur in the Central European countries in the sample. On the other hand, the latter indicates a consistent metacoverage focus on the left candidate among this reporting style. Two things are of note with regard to this finding. In France, the 2007 election is characterized by the novelty of having a female candidate run on the left (Ségolène Royal). In that sense, it is likely that French journalists also dedicated a lot of attention to her campaign. With regard to FOX, the metacoverage focus on the left candidate in the 2008 US election (i.e., Barack Obama) expresses actual bias. This can be demonstrated using the numbers for the negative evaluations of the left candidate, for which FOX shows the highest share in the US (ABC: 25.0%, NBC: 26.2%, CNN: 23.0%, FOX: 36.5%). In other words, compared to the other three US channels, FOX shows a higher-than-average volume for negative evaluations of the left candidate and thus a bias against Barack Obama.[67] This interpretation is also supported by the fact that shortly after the 2008 election campaign in the US, FOX was considered to be at feud with the Obama administration (e.g., Rutenberg, 2009; Tenore, 2009; O'Reilly, 2009).

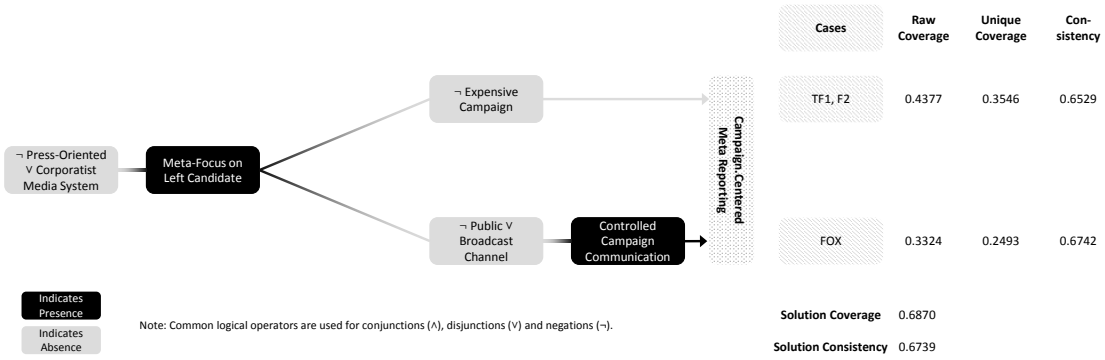
The French channels further combine these conditions with an absence of an expensive campaign, which is what differentiates them from FOX (the campaign in the US is considered expensive). This solution path has the higher coverage of the two paths (0.44), while the consistency of the two solution paths is virtually identical. Furthermore, FOX combines the absence of the press-oriented or corporatist system and the meta-focus on the left candidate with not being a public or broadcast channel and controlled campaign communication (neither of the two French channels shows the latter). This shows that the reporting style of 'campaign-centered process reporting' is not exclusive to highly professionalized campaigns in a commercialized media system (as indicated by highly controlled communication situations), but can also occur in other circumstances (e.g., in Southern

[67] In fact, there is only one channel in the whole sample that has a greater number of negative candidate evaluations: Canale5 with a share of 46.6%.

European countries). A simple ad-hoc explanation for this (adhering to the important principle of equifinality, which is well respected by QCA) is that they have the same style for different reasons.

As mentioned, further *conclusions* can be drawn regarding this third analysis. However, it is crucial to pay attention to the principle of equifinality: TV channels may have similar reporting styles for different reasons. In other words, the processes and informal rules by which such a reporting style is institutionalized can vary across countries and TV channels, but may still result in the same general journalistic reporting style. All three QCAs have been discussed in this light. However, the third style of campaign-centered meta reporting is the simplest example of them to demonstrate the principle of equifinality (because of the low number of cases actually showing the outcome). Drawing on specific contextual descriptions of the two campaigns (France 2007 and United States 2008) that cannot be included into a systematized analysis (such as QCA), the finer details of the two different "paths" to the same reporting style can be traced.

Finally, the *XY plot* depicting the solution must be discussed (Figure IV.36, p. 196). There are neither "true" contradictions nor unexplained cases (cf. section B.2.2.2, p. 302 and specifically Table B.16, p. 311). The French channels are in their anticipated location (in the plot), considering that they are the prototypical cases of this reporting style. FOX's location, however, identifies it as an extreme case (while actually being a borderline case): This is due to the fact that it has an extremely high value in the solution path, brought about by its extremely high value in the set of controlled campaign communication (0.97). In that sense, this type of pattern is similar for both borderline and extreme cases. The cases below the main diagonal with neither the solution nor the outcome (in the "irrelevant" space) should also be discussed as they drag down the solution consistency. The two British channels ITV1 and BBC1 have a value of 0.2 in the solution, locating them below the main diagonal. This value is due to their fuzzy



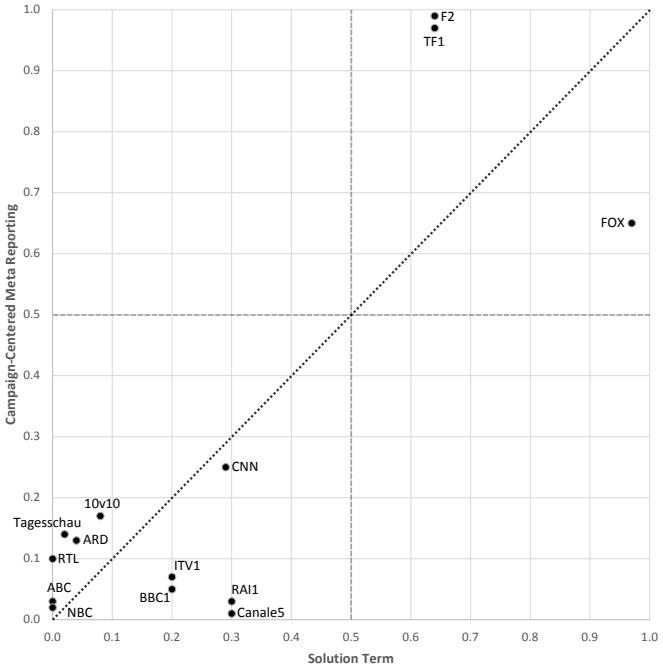


Figure IV.36: Explaining Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting (QCA)

set score of 0.8 in the press-oriented or corporatist media system, which is negated in both solution paths. Furthermore, the Italian channels have a higher membership in the solution than the outcome, and are thus placed below the main diagonal. Their fuzzy set value of 0.3 in the solution is brought about by the negation of their value of 0.7 in expensive campaign, which is part of the first solution (explaining the French channels). Finally, CNN has a value of 0.29 in the solution, which is its value for meta-focus on the left candidate.

IV.3.4 Synopsis of the Explanatory Analysis

The analysis shows that the identified reporting styles closely relate to contextual factors of the campaign environment and media systems. Each individual QCA specifies the *various paths leading to each reporting style*, showing similarities and differences between the cases representing the reporting styles. The interpretation of the final explanatory step also shows that the distinct patterns of the contextual factors quite consistently correspond to the typology interpretations of typical, hybrid and extreme cases. Thus, research question 5 (p. 58) concerning the context of the reporting styles can be answered: Candidate-centered issue reporting and journalist-centered process reporting – the two reporting styles covering most TV channels – can both be explained by four individual solution paths, while two unique solution paths can explain the campaign-centered meta reporting. The individual analyses also show further patterns among the solution paths: Two (similar) solution paths for candidate-centered issue reporting explain the more typical and extreme cases (Swiss and Italian channels), while two other paths describe the hybrid cases (RTL and BBC1). As far as the solution paths analyzing journalist-centered process reporting are concerned, two describe the European channels (Swiss, German and British channels) and a further two the US channels (ABC, NBC and CNN), highlighting media system differences. Finally, the explanation of campaign-centered meta reporting contains one solution path for the French channels and one for the US-American channel FOX. Some further insights are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

A *final illustration* (Figure IV.37, p. 199) shows each TV channel's fuzzy set score in each (complete) solution (these scores can be calculated using the formulae for conjunctions, disjunctions and negations; see equations B.17, B.18 and B.19, p. 304, 305 and 305). The point of indifference (0.5) is marked with a dotted line in order to be able to quickly identify members (and non-members) of each set. On this basis, cases correspond-

ing to several solutions (hybrid cases), cases that are clear cut members of only one solution and also cases that have blurred (but not multiple) memberships are identified.

The first set is the "true hybrid" cases that have multiple membership in several solutions. Since the QCAs showed neither unexplained, nor contradictory cases, these are the exact same cases as those with membership of more than one reporting style. I.e., the two Swiss channels as well as RTL and BBC1. RTL has the same fuzzy set score for both solutions (0.68, its value in the press-oriented or corporatist system). The two Swiss channels have slightly higher scores for both solutions (0.71 for journalist-centered process reporting, made up by their corresponding value in the press-oriented or corporatist media system and 0.73 for candidate-centered issue reporting, due to the expensive campaign found in Switzerland), which allows the QCA to explain them better than RTL. Finally, out of the hybrid cases, BBC1 shows the greatest difference between the two QCA solutions where it is a member: 0.8 for journalist-centered process reporting (made up by its value in the press-oriented or corporatist media system) and 0.65 for candidate-centered issue reporting (its value for meta-focus on the left candidate). That is an indicator for the fact that BBC1 can be explained better in terms of journalist-centered process reporting rather than candidate-centered issue reporting.

Two further cases are unanimously defined as "blurred" cases, having little difference between solution scores, but not actual multiple memberships, i.e., the Southern-European public channels (F2 in France and RAI1 in Italy). While they are members (i.e., fuzzy set values > 0.5) of only one solution, they do have a comparatively high fuzzy set value for all solutions. RAI1 shows a value of 0.57 for candidate-centered issue reporting and 0.43 for journalist-centered process reporting. These two values are both due to the value of 0.43 RAI1 shows for controlled campaign communication. Furthermore, RAI1's value for campaign-centered meta reporting is 0.3 due

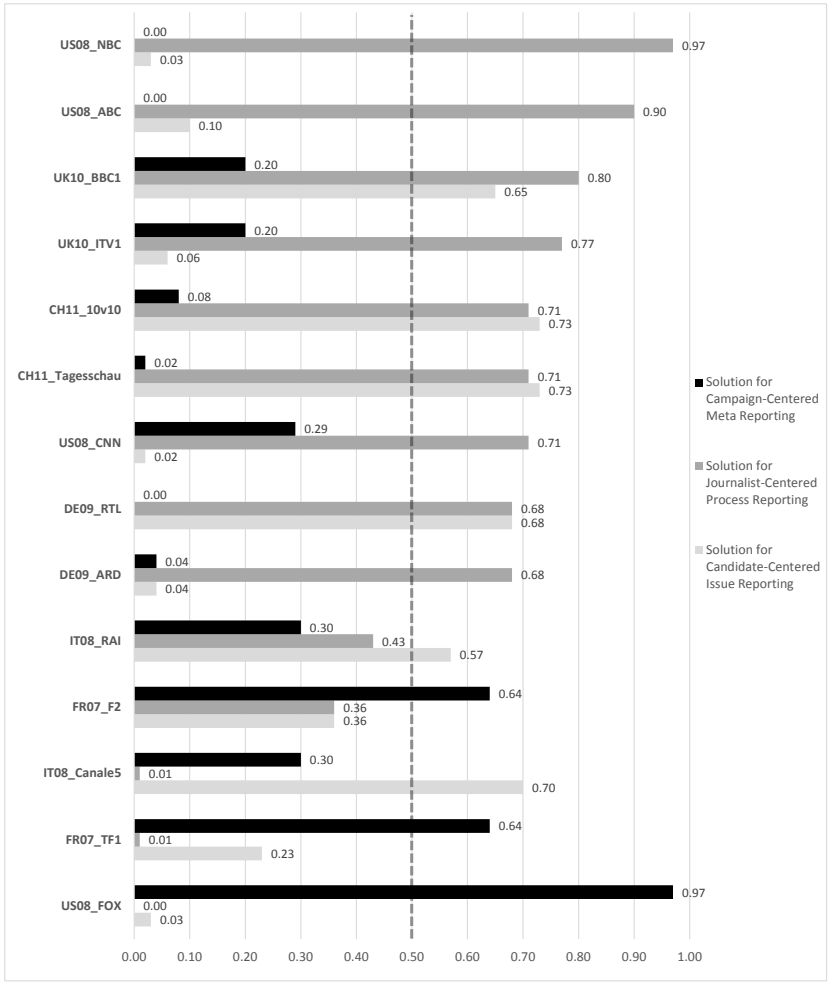


Figure IV.37: Explaining the Three Reporting Styles (Fuzzy Set Values)

to the absence of an expensive campaign in this solution. These are by far (ignoring F2 that has a similar pattern in terms of similar fuzzy set scores) the three solution values closest to each other out of all cases, indicating that RAI1 has a certain membership score in all three solutions – it is a "diffuse" case that is not specifically categorized in just one solution, but is also not a true "hybrid" case with multiple memberships in several solutions. As mentioned, F2 is the other TV channel in this group of cases. F2 has a fuzzy set value of 0.64 in the solution for campaign-centered meta reporting. Its value for the other two styles is 0.36, resulting in a pattern of differences between the solution values similar to RAI1. Both these values (0.64 and 0.36) result from France's fuzzy set score of 0.36 in the set of press-oriented or corporatist media systems.

Finally, the rest of the cases are clear cut and show a distinct membership of only one solution. This is the majority of the TV channels analyzed: In most cases, the pattern consists of a very high fuzzy set value in one solution and relatively low scores in the other two. For example, NBC is a prime candidate with a value of 0.97 in journalist-centered process reporting and 0.0 for campaign-centered meta reporting as well as 0.03 for candidate-centered issue reporting. ABC, NBC and FOX are the channels that can be best explained by their respective solutions. On the other hand, CNN, ITV1, Canale5 and TF1 show a slight tendency toward the group of "blurred" cases: While the difference between their highest and lowest solution fuzzy set score is substantial, the middle value shows some degree of membership.

Chapter V

Conclusion: Interventionism as a Research Field

This investigation shows that analyzing journalistic reporting styles across countries is a *promising research field*. It integrates many different theoretical and methodological aspects of comparative political communication research. In the first instance, investigating reporting styles has an *exploratory* angle, as the different styles have to be identified in a first step involving building typologies of reporting styles, which itself consists of two sub-steps: The first sub-step is the process of identifying the dimensions that make up different types in a typology. There are various methodological ways to do this – e.g., by applying exploratory statistical techniques such as correspondence analysis, as demonstrated in this analysis. There are other possible methods for building a typology: From quantitative factor analyses through mid-N, set-theoretic QCAs (e.g., Büchel et al., 2016) to purely theoretical approaches based on manually compiled data and qualitative comparisons (such as, for example, the famous media system typology by Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The second sub-step is arriving at a conclusion about the different types that can be built from the dimensions – i.e., finding meaningful patterns of the dimensions across the cases that make up the models of a typology. Again, this can be done quantitatively (e.g., following

up factor analyses with cluster analyses), with set-theoretic methods (i.e., QCA) or purely based on theoretical arguments.

Secondly, there also is an *explanatory* aspect to journalistic reporting styles. Once a typology of reporting styles is found, the follow-up question is how they can be explained. The researcher wants to know whether a newly-established typology corresponds to various contextual factors of the units of analysis. For example, the question in this analysis is whether specific journalistic reporting styles that are found systematically co-occur with various features of media systems and campaign environments. Again, researchers have an abundance of methods at their disposal to investigate this question, ranging from quantitative via set-theoretic to qualitative techniques.

This two-fold structure of any analysis of typologies opens up a wealth of theoretical interests, research questions and possibilities for methodological rigor and triangulation. Integrating all these steps of identifying and explaining typologies in a single analysis is an ambitious undertaking, but one that establishes a set of opportunities to combine various methodological approaches into a coherent, sequential analysis. In the following sections, a summary of the most relevant results is presented first (section V.1, p. 202), followed by some thoughts on the limitations of the study (section V.2, p. 209). The conclusion closes with a focus on the methodological and substantial contributions of the study (section V.3, p. 212) as well as an overview of possible options and opportunities in future election campaign studies (V.4, p. 216).

V.1 Summary of Results

In the following section, the most relevant results are summarized briefly by highlighting the answers to the main research questions and hypotheses. To do so, the two main steps of analysis (the exploratory analysis identifying

election campaign reporting styles on the one hand and the explanatory analysis on the other hand) and their core insights are recapped. The first step applies correspondence- and cluster analysis to determine both the dimensions and models of the typology, while the second step uses QCA to relate the reporting styles to contextual factors of the media system and the campaign environment. Overall, the findings show that there are distinct reporting styles that predominantly group TV channels of the same countries together, indicating that cross-national differences still exist in a globalized and connected world. Research question 1 (p. 57) is thus answered: Country differences are much stronger than TV channel differences (public vs. private channels) with regards to soundbite- and metacoverage indicators.

Exploratory Analysis The exploratory analysis consists of two main steps: Firstly, correspondence analysis is applied in order to extract *dimensions* of interventionist election campaign reporting styles. *Correspondence analysis* is a highly appropriate tool for such analyses, as it is able to work with many nominal variables and still produce meaningful results. Methodologically, the method is thus superior to similar analyses such as factor analysis which regularly have problems when trying to process numerous and categorical variables, as indicated by the cross-validation in this analysis. Substantially, the application of this analysis strategy essentially produces two dimensions of election campaign reporting styles: A "topic" dimension that distinguishes between metacoverage topics, process topics and issue topics and a dimension of the "dominant voice" that distributes the cases by the length and frequency of candidate soundbites. These two dimensions are meaningful aspects of interventionist reporting styles and they are statistically independent of each other ($r = -.011, n.s.$), indicating that they indeed represent different aspects of the same phenomenon – namely, interventionist features focusing on content ("topics") as well as

form (“dominant voice”).

Secondly, *cluster analysis* is used as a tool to identify the “center of mass” of each “assembly” of cases. The former corresponds to the cluster centers, indicating the average visual location in the plot of each cluster (respectively the values of the two dimensions). The latter refers to the grouping of cases that builds up the different clusters. This step identifies the different *types* of interventionist election campaign reporting styles that are extracted from the available data. Three distinct reporting styles are found: Firstly, a non-interventionist style featuring many issue topics called “candidate-centered issue reporting”, consisting of Italian and Swiss TV channels as well as RTL and BBC1. Secondly, a highly interventionist style that shows many process topics called “journalist-centered process reporting”, grouping US (except FOX), British, German and Swiss channels together. Finally, a further interventionist style featuring many metacoverage topics dubbed “campaign-centered meta reporting”, which includes the French channels as well as FOX. Euclidean distances between each cluster center and each case are then calculated, indicating the strength of membership cases show with regard to each cluster. In that sense, close proximity of a case to a cluster center (and thus low values on the respective cluster distance) indicates typical types of clusters, while greater distances signify borderline as well as extreme cases. To further distinguish between the latter two, the plot can be consulted visually: If cases are far from the cluster center and towards the more extreme end points of their respective style, they are considered extreme cases. This analysis is able to classify each case according to its reporting style and the strength with which it corresponds to it. Taken together, the exploratory analysis shows that middle-N samples can be meaningfully processed using these procedures, resulting in productive case-oriented interpretations.

Finally, calculating *factor analysis* as the first exploratory step (instead of correspondence analysis) shows two things (see the discussion

in section IV.2.3.2, p. 177 and the documentation in appendix B.2.1.3, p. 283). Firstly, the strikingly similar results confirm the robustness of the analysis conducted in this study. However, this methodological exercise also highlights some weak points in the factor analysis (and, therefore, advantages of the correspondence analysis). For example, factor analysis can process fewer variables and thus risks losing some important information that is present in the correspondence analysis. The two resulting dimensions are also structured much more consistently along the two content analysis projects, indicating that correspondence analysis is better suited to fine-tuning the typology dimensions (without creating methodological artifacts). Furthermore, the extreme outlier of BBC1 in the factor analysis shows that correspondence analysis is less prone to create outlier-based results. Correspondence analysis discriminates the cases better and more coherently than the factor analysis.[68]

Explanatory Analysis Finally, the cluster distances are used to relate the election campaign reporting styles to relevant *contextual factors* such as the media system (public or broadcast channel vs. private channel, press-oriented or corporatist media system) and the campaign environment (cost of campaign, control of communication situations, meta-focus on left candidate). These conditions relate to all three reporting styles using QCA, explaining all cases without contradictions. For the non-interventionist *candidate-centered issue reporting*, two solution paths each with two solutions have been found: Swiss and Italian channels both have expensive campaigns without many controlled communication situations. In Switzerland, these conditions are combined with the absence of a meta-focus on the left candidate and public TV channels, while the Italian cases additionally combine them with a meta-focus on the left candidate and the absence of the press-oriented or corporatist media system. These two paths are

[68] This aspect is nicely visible when comparing the two figures locating the cases in the two-dimensional plots; see Figures IV.27 and IV.33 (p. 160 and 178).

indicators that Italian and Swiss channels share this reporting style due to similar campaign environment characteristics (expensive campaigns, not many controlled communication situations), while they differ in the media system conditions. The two hybrid cases RTL and BBC1 also show two common conditions: The absence of an expensive campaign and the press-oriented or corporatist media system. RTL combines this with being a private channel, demonstrating no meta-focus on the left candidate, but controlled campaign communication, while BBC1 shows the exact opposite of these three conditions. This shows that the same outcome (i.e., the same election campaign reporting style) can occur in different, sometimes even opposite circumstances (equifinality).

The interventionist *journalist-centered process reporting* also has two solution paths, each with two solutions. Firstly, the Central European (German, Swiss and British) channels have a similarity in their media system structure, namely that they belong to the press-oriented or corporatist media system. ITV1 as well as the German and Swiss channels combine this with the absence of a meta-focus on the left candidate, while the public channels (BBC1, ARD, 10v10, Tagesschau) are grouped together in the other solution path. Considering that the European channels are clustered together in these two solution paths, while the remaining two explain the US-American channels, this result indicates media system differences between US and the Central European channels with respect to reporting styles. ABC, NBC and CNN also show two paths, sharing an expensive election campaign and many controlled communication situations with either the absence of a meta-focus on the left candidate (NBC and CNN) or being a broadcast channel (ABC, NBC). The first two common conditions indicate that this reporting style is a function of highly professionalized campaigns (expensive campaign with many controlled communication situations) in the US context.

Finally, the second interventionist *campaign-centered meta reporting*

shows two paths, one for French channels and one for FOX. They share two conditions, namely that they are not part of the press-oriented or corporatist media systems and a meta-focus on the left candidate. French channels combine this with the absence of an expensive campaign, while FOX additionally shows many controlled communication situations and is not a public or broadcast channel. Again, this result indicates similar contextual settings with further detailled specifications for single channels and countries: All three channels do not belong to the "democratic-corporatist" media system and do have a tendency to cover meta-aspects of communication especially with regard to the left candidate. In the case of FOX, this shows a distinct focus on the campaign of Barack Obama, which even lead to a small feud between the channel and the campaign. This result indicates that the professionalization of the campaign is not particularly relevant for this reporting style, as France shows a rather less professionalized campaign (indicated by the fact that the campaign is not expensive) than FOX (which shows many controlled communication situations).

Overall, the results of the explanatory analysis indicate that reporting styles are very diverse concepts showing high amounts of equifinality. Very different contextual settings lead to similar election campaign reporting styles. However, systematic patterns can be found for each reporting style, highlighting the similarities as well as the differences between cases belonging to the same reporting style. The fact that channels from the same country are almost never split up throughout the whole analysis again points to relevant cross-country differences that appear to be stronger than the difference between public and private channels within countries. With regard to election campaigns, the obvious conclusion is that national settings still matter more than newsroom culture differences (as found between public and private TV channels). This could very well be a function of the time period analyzed (election campaigns as opposed to routine periods), but it is nevertheless a strong indicator that news cultures have

not yet converged internationally to the point of being "more of the same" (Humprecht & Büchel, 2013) in every Western country.

Taken together, the whole analysis highlights several aspects with regard to mediatization. Firstly, the three identified reporting styles vary in their amount of interventionism and thus also indicate the levels of mediatization to a certain degree: Journalist-centered process reporting shows the highest amount of mediatization (for example, candidate messages are short and infrequent compared to journalistic messages). This implies that the news media in these countries are an autonomous, professionalized and profit-oriented institution that is highly relevant for all sorts of societal processes and other institutions (especially election campaigns in the study at hand). Particularly the US-American channels present in this style (ABC, NBC and CNN) are highly mediatized (for example, the style among these three channels is explained with the expensive campaign and the high amount of controlled communication situations in the QCA). Secondly, the further interventionist style of campaign-centered meta reporting also shows a certain amount of mediatization, but with slightly different characteristics: The relation between the prevalence and length of candidate statements vs. journalistic statements is more balanced in these TV channels, but metacoverage topics are very prevalent. They are an indicator for mediatization in the sense that mass media reporting is so crucial for campaigns that speculating about motives and aims of the media (and the publicity efforts of the candidates) is a campaign topic by itself. Thirdly, the style of candidate-centered issue reporting shows the least traces of mediatization: In these channels, the journalistic voice does not dominate the candidate messages, but the candidates are granted plenty of opportunities to present themselves and their policies. The fact that controlled campaign communication is absent in all QCA solution paths of this style (except for RTL) indicates both a solely semi-professionalized state of campaign communication as well as a "sacerdotal" reporting style.

V.2 Limitations

Following the summary of the main insights of the analysis (section V.1, p. 202), this section examines possible pitfalls and limitations. Any empirical study needs to accept certain compromises which result in problems that need to be disclosed and discussed. The limitations of this study are therefore discussed briefly in the following paragraphs. To structure the discussion, they are divided into conceptual, sample and methodological limitations.

Conceptual Limitations Any study will have conceptual and theoretical limitations. This study shares a problem found in many other sociological investigations: Concepts such as mediatization, commercialization and professionalization are rather abstract and thus very hard to measure directly. Researchers must therefore find indicators and proxies on lower levels of abstraction to conduct empirical analyses.

Furthermore, this study only uses cross-sectional comparisons without any factor of time. Any effects found can thus not be interpreted as causalities and must be treated with caution. Basically, only correlations can be shown and true causal relations are only implied. It would have been very interesting to include data from at least two elections for each country. However, that would complicate the analysis immensely by adding another layer of comparison (in addition to the countries and types of TV channels that are already present in this study). Also, content analysis data for older elections is not available at this point and it can be difficult to obtain raw material (i.e., election newscasts) from decades ago.

Sample Limitations Since sampling is a crucial step in any empirical analysis, the sample itself is often subject to a great deal of criticism. Firstly, with regard to the country sample, only Western, capitalist democracies are present in the sample. However, it would be interesting to observe the dis-

cussed phenomena in other countries such as emerging or slightly defective democracies (for an example, see Wessler & Rinke, 2014). Similarly, with regard to the time period, it has already been mentioned that longitudinal data would be productive. For example, Sampert et al. (2014) can show in a longitudinal study covering Canadian elections across 37 years that campaign coverage can indeed change over time, being adjusted and tailored to the changing media environment of mediatization and commercialization. Similarly, Seethaler & Melischek (2014) provide insights into the Austrian case. Clearly, longitudinal studies are productive and could be combined with perspectives of typology-building: Either the typology is built at different points of time, or the cases present in such a sample are doubled for each point of time (and then processed in a single analysis).

Another possible layer of comparison with regard to the temporal dimension is the inclusion of periods of routine politics (instead of campaign periods): Are these reporting styles found in "normal" times? However, this would also require a substantial adaptation of all the measurement tools of the content analysis in order for them to be applicable for routine periods of politics. In that sense, other TV shows apart from newscasts could also be analyzed: Background reporting, interviews, reportages as well as talkshows and entertainment channels could provide further insight into more generalizable results. With regard to media types, analyzing soundbites and metacoverage in print media would also be worthwhile.

Methodological Limitations The most obvious methodological limitation is that the complete main analysis has to be completed at an aggregated level of TV channels, thus losing some of the information and variation at the lower levels of analysis. It would be very interesting to combine the two projects on a story- or even statement level. However, with almost 17'000 statements in more than 3'000 stories, such an undertaking would be almost impossible. It would require the two codebooks to be combined right from

the start. Thus, the typology can only be built with a mid-N sample of 14 TV channels: Had the projects been combined at a story or even statement level, more rigorous quantitative analyses would have been possible. Of course, a thorough qualitative analysis would be interesting as well. This study already triangulates the results by combining correspondence- and cluster analysis as well as QCA. However, further methods could enrich the study, for example, cross-validating results with expert interviews (campaign managers, spin doctors, journalists, etc.) could prove very interesting and help to provide further robustness.

While correspondence analysis can process many variables, the analytical models should not be overspecified. The descriptive analysis has explained further key concepts that are not included in the typology, such as metacoverage scripts (script objects and script types, script sources, visual information) or the total overall share of speaking time. Sound empirical analyses always need to balance the volume of information with the ratio of variables to cases.

Finally, the explanatory step of the analysis (i.e., the QCA) partly suffers from a type of "endogeneity" problem (although not in the strict sense with which this issue is discussed regarding regression analyses): Some explanatory conditions stem from the same data source as the outcomes (i.e., the results of the correspondence- and cluster analysis). Specifically, this refers to the control of the communication situation and the candidate connection of metacoverage scripts, i.e., the indicators that are built using the content analysis data – as the outcome in the respective analysis. The main consequence of this is that conclusions about causality must be drawn with great caution (since the data do not incorporate a time lag between cause and effect).

V.3 Contribution of the Study

Overall, this study provides both a *methodological* as well as a *substantial contribution*. The study's methodology has an innovative analytical design combining exploratory and explanatory strategies in order to triangulate findings. This type of mixed-methods approach is most productive for studies with mid-N samples (ca. 15 to 50 cases). With regard to the substantial contribution, the applied design of analysis allows key findings to be identified. It tackles both strategies of building typologies as well as means to relate an outcome to contextual settings in a meaningful way.

Methodological Contribution This study has a number of methodological contributions that are worth highlighting. Firstly, with regard to typology building, the study shows that *correspondence analysis* is a productive approach identifying latent dimensions of initial variables. While the "traditional" approach is to use factor analysis for this type of investigation, content analysis data often does not fulfil its requirements: Nominal data is the norm in content analysis, which is difficult to process with factor analysis (dummies rarely work smoothly in factor analysis). Furthermore, correspondence analysis requires considerably fewer cases and can process greater volumes of variables than factor analysis. Thus, it provides a much finer picture than factor analysis and takes a wide variety of variables into account. Correspondence analysis is also specifically able to process complex tables compiled from several single tables from different sources. Combining different data sets into a single analysis is therefore a key property of correspondence analysis. The findings from correspondence analysis can be visualized well (in the case of two-dimensional solutions). While factor analysis delivering two dimensions can be displayed graphically using the factor scores (which is a worthwhile undertaking, as demonstrated with the explanations of Figure IV.33, p. 178), it is rarely done – probably because two-dimensional solutions are rarely sought in factor analyses. Finally, the fact that the factor

analysis in this study cross-validates the correspondence analysis shows that the analysis is robust.

There is also a small contribution from the *cluster analysis*, as well. It is common practice to combine the exploratory methods, mostly by advocating cluster analysis downstream of factor analysis. This study fully fully endorses this practice as the findings can be broken down much farther and in more detail than with a sole dimensioning method. This is also true for correspondence analysis. There are several aspects to this feature: In the study at hand, cluster analysis has provided further validation of the three identified reporting styles. By fixing the cluster centers in the two-dimensional Cartesian plane, the researcher can calculate the "centers of mass" of each type rather than estimating its location. Thus, the actual number of types can be cross-validated, too. Furthermore, with regard to empirical typology building, factor or correspondence analysis is only one step of the analysis: They can identify latent dimensions of the typology. However, researchers usually wish to build *scales for the actual typology models* rather than simply the dimensions: This is where cluster analysis comes into play. Another unconventional step must be taken to create such scales: In the usual statistical computer applications, cluster analysis provides cluster distances only within the cluster to which each case belongs. However, that is not useful when the aim is to build a scale for each type: Fortunately, it is very easy to calculate these scales using Euclidean distances (i.e., the Theorem of Pythagoras). This scale can be used for further visualizations as well as calculations, aiding the researcher in unraveling the phenomenon. The author thus encourages future studies to do so, as well.

Another aspect must be highlighted in terms of methodological contributions. To demonstrate the robustness of the exploratory analysis, an additional *factor analysis* is applied instead of the correspondence analysis in a

brief digression.[69] The strikingly similar results confirm the robustness and validity of the exploratory analysis. This cross-validation therefore reinforces the exploratory results and the identified election campaign reporting style typology while also highlighting some important differences between the two methods.

Finally, further contributions and recommendations are worth mentioning with regard to the explanatory analysis and in particular the *QCA* applied to relate the identified election campaign reporting styles to contextual factors of the media system and the campaign environment. Firstly, the research question is inherently set-theoretic: The types of a typology are by definition "sets" of cases, thus the respective scales represent sets rather than variables (see section B.2.2.1, p. 289 for the subtle differences between sets and variables). The contextual factors can also be understood as sets rather than variables. The research question interrogates similarities and differences between various sets of cases – typology models as well as contextual patterns – which is inherently set-theoretic. Furthermore, in simple pragmatic terms, QCA can deal with low-N samples much better than traditional methods such as regression, especially when processing several variables. In cross-country comparative media research, low-N samples are generally the norm. The findings show that QCA is a productive approach to such questions.

Taken together, the applied methods are examples of *mixed methods* approaches dealing with middle-N samples. All methods are carefully chosen to represent the best fit for each step of the analysis (describing dimensions, classifying cases, explaining reporting styles). The analyses and their calculations are mostly variable-oriented, but can be interpreted with a heavy focus on the cases. For example, the cluster analysis and especially the cluster distances highlight the different types of cases found for each typology model: Ideal cases as well as hybrid and extreme cases can be

[69] See the explanations in section IV.2.3.2 (p. 177) and the documentation in appendix B.2.1.3 (p. 283).

identified easily and convincingly. All steps are further complemented by carefully selected visualizations that further detail the patterns in the available data.

Substantial Contribution The results of this study make an appropriate starting point for further analyses of interventionist reporting styles during election campaigns. Firstly, the different *models* found in the typology open up a variety of insights as well as connecting factors for further studies. For example, the explicit description of election campaign reporting styles provides a starting point for future election campaign studies: Awareness of the reporting style characteristics and patterns (both across single cases as well as the identified models themselves) helps to select and describe countries in cross-nationally comparative election studies. In that sense, the typology can function as a baseline for country samples. These ideas also apply both for further content analyses as well as studies investigating other aspects of election campaigns not necessarily connected to the media: The typology at hand can serve as a guideline for the "behavior" of the media in a given country during election campaigns, thus providing contextual information for these studies. Statements about the role of the media can thus be backed up with empirical evidence rather than implicit assumptions, even when the media are not analyzed per se in such a study. A further substantial contribution is the differentiation of interventionism into a formal dimension (dominant voice) and a content dimension (topics). (Non-)interventionism is a phenomenon with a multitude of facets, comprising several dimensions and reflecting different aspects of the media and political logic.

Secondly, with regard to the relevant *dimensions* of the typology, future research can take these two distinct and independent aspects of reporting styles into account and model further content analysis variables along these lines. Since this analysis details the identified dimensions and initial variables meticulously, more compact versions of the codebook should

be possible if the aim is simply to identify reporting styles. In fact, a standardized "scale" for these two dimensions could be developed and tested in subsequent analyses, providing a homogenous measurement for media-centered election campaign reporting styles.

Finally, with regard to the QCA, relating the *context factors* to the reporting styles shows that the styles do follow similar contextual settings (with a certain degree of equifinality). Proxies for the professionalization of a campaign (expenses for advertisements and so on, amount of controlled communication situations in TV) prove to be very relevant and productive aspects of a specific campaign environment (in addition to media bias measurements such as the meta-focus on a specific candidate), while the media structure characteristics (press-oriented or corporatist system, public or broadcast channel vs. private channels) further help to structure and classify the cases. Future research might wish to take the identified similarities and differences into account in order to sample and explain news content across countries and time.

V.4 Outlook

The results of this study provide many starting points for future investigations. The dimensionality of the typology identified using correspondence analysis shows possible reporting styles other than those identified in this study. Most notably, there is no reporting style that fully conforms to the anticipations of mediatization theory: This style would be located in the top left-hand side of the correspondence XY plot (see Figure IV.27, p. 160) and would show a dominant journalistic voice in combination with a great degree of metacoverage. However, no cases are present in the identified typology that correspond fully to this extreme example of a mediatized reporting style. Another possible scenario is the reporting style that would be located on the top right-hand side. This combination of a dominant

journalistic voice and many issue topics would represent a typical example of "watchdog journalism" that discusses issues and policies, but not as a simple political mouthpiece of the candidates. Normatively, the results are therefore sobering: Accountability frames are rare, media interventionism aligns with an absence of policy topics, and issue-intensive reporting styles feature highly dominant candidate voices. However, there are still many aspects to tackle: What patterns of reporting styles are found in print media? What other dimensions might be present when considering further mediatization aspects? Would more and different dimensions produce different typologies and different classifications of typical, extreme and hybrid cases? Can the dimensions be applied beyond the Western world? Many questions and analyses remain for future inquiries into journalistic reporting styles.

Chapter VI

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Appendix A

List of Acronyms and Nomenclature

A.1 List of Acronyms

Acronym	Definition
Ad	Advertisement
App.	Application(s)
Bn.	Billion
Broadc.	Broadcast
Cand.	Candidate(s)
ca.	lat. “circa” (“approximately”, “about”, “roughly”)
cf.	lat. “conferre” (“compare”, “also see”)
CH	Switzerland
CHF	Swiss Franc (Currency)
Comb.	Combination(s)
Comm.	Communication
Cond.	Condition(s)
Cons.	Consistency (of Suff. or Nec. Condition)
Corr.	Correlation
Corresp.	Correspondence
Cov.	Coverage (of Suff. or Nec. Condition)
DE	Germany
Dim.	Dimension(s)

e.g.	lat. “exempli gratia” (“for example”)
Env.	Environment
etc.	lat. “et cetera” (“and so forth”)
EUR	Euro (Currency)
FR	France
GBP	Pound Sterling (Currency)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
i.e.	lat. “id est” (“that is to say”)
Insuff.	Insufficient (Condition), Insufficiency
INUS	Insuff., but Nec. Part of an Unnec., but Suff. Cond.
IT	Italy
Journ.	Journalist(s) / Journalistic
lat.	Latin
Meta	Metacoverage
Mio.	Million
Mm	lat. “memento” (“remember that...”)
NB	lat. “nota bene” (“please note”, “keep in mind that...”)
n.d.	No Date
Nec.	Necessary (Condition), Necessity
p.	Page(s)
Pers.	Personality
Pol.	Politics, Political
PR	Public Relations
Press. or Corp.	Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System
Publ.	Public, Publicity
QCA	Qualitative Comparative Analysis
SB	Soundbite(s)
sec.	Second(s)
Sig.	Significance
Sing. Val.	Singular Value (Correspondence Analysis)
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Computer Application)
Std. Dev.	Standard Deviation
Suff.	Sufficient (Condition), Sufficiency
SUIN	Suff., but Unnec. Part of an Insuff., but Nec. Cond.
Tech. Rep.	Technical Report

TV	Television
Unnec.	Unnecessary (Condition), Unnecessity
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar (Currency)
vs.	lat. “versus” (“compared to”, “contra”)

A.2 List of Nomenclature

Symbol	Definition	App.
$\neg$; $\notin$	Logical “Not” (Negation); Not an Element of...	QCA
$\in$	Is an Element of...	QCA
$\wedge$; $\cap$	Logical “And” (Conjunction); Intersection	QCA
$\vee$; $\cup$	Logical “Or” (Discjunction); Set Union	QCA
$\rightarrow$; $\subset$	Sufficient Cond. (Material Implication); Subset	QCA
$\leftarrow$; $\supset$	Necessary Cond. (Material Implication); Superset	QCA
$\leftrightarrow$	Nec. and Suff. Cond. (Biconditional)	QCA
$\boldsymbol{\eta_p^2}$	Partial Eta-Squared / Explained Variance	Statistics
$\boldsymbol{\chi^2}$	Chi-Squared	Statistics
°C	Sign for Degree Celsius	Physics
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance	Statistics
Cramér's V	Contingency Coefficient (Standardized χ^2)	Statistics
$\mathbf{d_{(A,\,B)}}$	Euclidean Distance (between Points A and B)	Statistics
d.f.	Degrees of Freedom	Statistics
e	Expected Frequency	Statistics
ê	Expected Relative Frequency	Statistics
f	False	QCA
$\mathbf{H_2O}$	Molecular Formula of Water	Physics
i	Refers to Rows in a Table	Statistics
j	Refers to Columns in a Table	Statistics
k	Number of Conditions	QCA
K	Number of Dimensions	Statistics
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Criterion	Statistics

max	Returns Maximum Value (of Several Variables)	Statistics, QCA
min	Returns Minimum Value (of Several Variables)	Statistics, QCA
n	Number of Cases in Specific Subsample	Statistics
$\mathbf{n}_{\text{Possible Comb.}}$	N Possible Combinations (from k Conditions)	QCA
$\mathbf{n_{ij}}$	Raw Frequency (of Cell ij)	Statistics
$\mathbf{n_{i*}}$	Raw Row Total (of Row $i*$)	Statistics
$\mathbf{n_{*j}}$	Raw Column Total (of Column $*j$)	Statistics
ns.	Not Significant	Statistics
N	Number (of Cases)	Statistics
p	Relative Frequency	Statistics
$\mathbf{p_{ij}}$	Relative Frequency (of Cell ij)	Statistics
$\mathbf{p_{ij}}_{\text{Total}}$	Total Percentage (of Cell ij)	Statistics
$\mathbf{p_{ij}}_{\text{Row}}$	Row Percentage (of Cell ij)	Statistics
$\mathbf{p_{ij}}_{\text{Column}}$	Column Percentage (of Cell ij)	Statistics
$\mathbf{p_{i*}}$	Row Mass (of Row $i*$)	Statistics
$\mathbf{p_{*j}}$	Column Mass (of Column $*j$)	Statistics
r	Correlation Coefficient / Pearson's r	Statistics
$\mathbf{R^2}$	R-Squared / Explained Variance	Statistics
$\mathbf{\bar{R}^2}$	Adjusted R-Squared	Statistics
s	Standard Deviation	Statistics
S	Matrix of Singular Values	Statistics
t	True	QCA
T	Total Inertia	Statistics
u	Row Elements	Statistics
U	Matrix of Row Points	Statistics
v	Column Elements	Statistics
V	Matrix of Column Points	Statistics
$\mathbf{\bar{x}}$	Average (Arithmetic Mean)	Statistics
$\mathbf{x_A}$	X-Value (of Case A) in Two-Dimensional Space	Statistics
$\mathbf{y_A}$	Y-Value (of Case A) in Two-Dimensional Space	Statistics
$\mathbf{z_i}$	Z-Standardized Value (of Case i)	Statistics
Z	Matrix of Standardized Value (χ^2-Distance)	Statistics
$\mathbf{z_{ij}}$	Standardized χ^2-Distance (of Cell ij)	Statistics

Appendix B

Data Processing and Calculations

In the following appendix B, several procedures are documented with various levels of detail. Firstly, section B.1 explains the two main procedures needed to prepare the data for the analysis: Data sets for the individual election campaigns are cleansed of mistakes (section B.1.1, p. 246). Furthermore, individual data files are aggregated to the level of TV channels in order to be able to combine the metacoverage and soundbite projects (section B.1.2, p. 253). Some recodings and several aspects of the data cleansing are undertaken after the data aggregation, therefore there are also some references to data cleansing in the section about aggregation (section B.1.2).

Furthermore, section B.2 (starting p. 259) records the analytical process, i.e., the description of the applied correspondence- and cluster analysis (subsection B.2.1, p. 259), the QCA (subsection B.2.2, p. 288) as well as the cross-validation of the exploratory section with factor analysis (subsection B.2.1.3, p. 283). The extent to which each procedure is described varies. There is greater focus on the correspondence analysis and particularly the QCA than the cluster analysis. The reason for this is that cluster analysis is a much more prominent and widespread method than either correspondence analysis or QCA. Most readers will therefore be more familiar with the

basics of cluster analysis. The proceedings and modes of operation of correspondence analysis and QCA will therefore be discussed in greater detail. These explanations are both technical and extremely detailed, which is why they are kept in the appendix instead of the main text. The descriptions in the main text focus on the main analytical steps and the respective substantial interpretations, while indicating the relevant sections in the appendix explaining the particular mode of operation.

B.1 Data Processing

As mentioned, this section expalins the preparatory steps conducted prior to the analysis. Subsection B.1.1 explains the data cleansing carried out on the data from each single election, while subsection B.1.2 (p. 253) focuses on the aggregation of data. A few mistakes are also corrected in the aggregated data sets; these are described in the latter subsection. Finally, some filters are used to exclude certain cases prior to aggregation; these are also explained in the latter subsection.

The complete process of data cleansing and aggregation has several steps: First (1), individual data sets for each election (separated for metacoverage and soundbites) are prepared (data cleansing and recodings). This is on the analytical level of propositions. Second (2), all data files from the individual elections are merged to one data set containing all elections, but in individual data sets for the metacoverage and soundbite project. This step simply adds up the single cases of each country and election; the unit of analysis is still a single proposition. With this data set, descriptives across the elections on the level of propositions are calculated. Furthermore, the aggregation is also technically based on these merged data sets in order to minimize the risk of small oversights, as the aggregation is carried out twice instead of twelve times (six elections times two projects). Third (3), a few recodings and data cleansing steps are required for these merged files.

Finally, the aggregation is conducted based on the two merged files.[70]

B.1.1 Data Cleansing

The procedures of data cleansing and arrangement is carried out in three consecutive steps. Firstly, the data sets of each individual election campaign must be processed. These are the files built up by the coders for each election campaign and both projects (soundbite and metacoverage). Secondly, these individual files must be merged into one coherent data set that contains all election campaigns at a statement level, but still separated for the two content analysis projects. Thirdly, some recodings must be completed in these combined statement-level comparative data sets. Details of all three steps are provided below.

1. **Processing Individual Data Sets**

    - Firstly, all variables are checked for spelling mistakes and inconsistencies in all variable and code labels.
    - Construct 'election campaign': Indicates year and country of election campaign.
    - Reconstruct 'sendung CH': In Switzerland, two shows are analyzed ("Tagesschau" and "10 vor 10") from only one TV channel (SRF1). In the original soundbite data set, the information identifying the Swiss show is not saved in the 'channel' variable, but it is in the original meta data set. This is corrected in the soundbite data set to ensure compatibility between the datasets when merging and aggregating the different election campaigns.
    - The codes identifying candidates and parties in the US are incorrectly in the soundbite data set. They are recoded so that unique

[70] These main steps of data processing are documented with SPSS syntax files. See the explanations in appendix D (p. 332).

and exclusive codes are used (171 for McCain, 172 for Obama, 173 for Nader; 35 for the Republicans, 36 for the democrats).[71]

- Similarly, the variable identifying the 'candidate connection' of individual metacoverage scripts is extremely inconsistent across the various data sets. While the codebook instructs coders to use a simple distinction between left and right candidates,[72] most codings indicate the actual candidates (or parties) for each election. To ensure comparability, all parties are recoded to left and right parties. In the data set for Italy, the party labels are not present in the data set and are thus reconstructed. Fortunately, they are noted down on the original coding sheets (original codes: 1 for PD, 2 for PdL, 3 for UDC, 4 for Sinistra / Arcobaleno, 5 for La Destra / Fiamma Tricolore, 6 for Lega Nord). After recoding, the original variable is deleted.

2. **Merging the Individual Data Sets**

- Merging the data sets from each individual election into two new data sets: A metacoverage data set containing all election campaigns (called "Meta_ALL") and a soundbite data set containing all election campaigns (called "SB_ALL"). No problems to report.

- These files are used to aggregate the data to the level of TV channels, which is necessary to be able to combine both projects in the main analysis (correspondence analysis, cluster analysis and QCA).

- These merged files are also very useful for calculating descrip-

[71] The reason for these inconsistencies in candidate and party codes is that each new election is coded by new coders who typically start the labels for the new candidates from the beginning again. Thus, before data sets can be merged or aggregated, compatibility between all candidate codes needs to be checked. This also applies to other election-specific variables such as the country and TV channel.

[72] Unfortunately, there are inconsistent examples in the current codebook. Keep that in mind when consulting the codebook!

tive statistics across countries (separately for metacoverage and soundbites, but at the level of propositions).

- In some of the original data sets, some of the recodings are already present. In these cases, they are deleted and constructed again in order to ensure the correctness of all recodings.
- Before merging the files (which basically amounts to adding up additional cases – all variables are the same in all files), the individual files are sorted in ascending order. This results in a chronological order of TV stories and propositions. After merging the files, a new identification variables ('ID final') is created across all campaigns.

3. **Processing Merged Data Sets**

Soundbites

- Code labels are added for CNN (code 13) and FOX (code 14).
- Some imagebites have no 'soundbite type' codes, they are added.
- The dummy variable 'interview' identifies whether soundbites were given in formal interviews. This needs to be corrected in a few instances. In the US, only the positive value was coded, indicating interviews, while in FR and IT, some 'audiobites' (soundbite 'type' 7) had a coding for interviews (this variable is only coded for soundbite 'types' 6 and 8, i.e., actual soundbites and imagebites). Accordingly, the codings are replaced with missings if they were coded for anything other than imagebites and soundbites; and in the US, the missings in imagebites and soundbites (that were not 1) are replaced with 0.
- One proposition (final ID: 3701, BBC1 broadcast from April 23rd, 2010) shows no soundbite type. Looking it up in the original cod-

ing sheet shows that it is an 'anchor 1' statement at a length of 21 seconds.

- In the UK, there is a case that was coded 77 for the 'content' variable. This is a data entry error and is corrected to 7.

Metacoverage

- The variable 'topics (E1)' has several rogue values, e.g., 8, 88 and several missings. All values 8 and 88 are corrected to code 83, which is verified with the original coding sheets. One case has a code 48 on 'topics (E2)', this should be 43 (also verified with the original coding sheet). The missings are checked one by one and if necessary verified with the original coding sheets. 'Final ID' 1679 appears twice, once with almost no codings; this redundant case is deleted. In cases 1877-1879 and 2584-2587, the code for the topic (83) is noted down at the wrong variable ('length'), this is corrected (verified with original coding sheets). 2341 is recoded to 83 (verified with original coding sheets).
- Variable 'coder' is deleted, it is not needed.
- Various faulty connections[73] between 'metatopics' and 'metaframes' had to be corrected. These were identified using crosstabulation ('final IDs' are reported again):
  - **'Metatopic' present, but no 'metaframe':** In cases 2883-2892, no metaframes are in the dataset, but they can be verified with original coding sheets. 4165-4168 and 4451 are not coded at all, but can be reconstructed from the 'script types' via the coding sheets. In 4678-4679 and 6050-6051,

[73] These corrections would affect the 'frame-topic connection' variable, which is coded separately. However, they are not corrected, as this variable is neither used for the descriptive statistics, nor for the aggregation. Keep this in mind when using the two data sets on the level of propositions for soundbites and metacoverage containing all countries for each project! This variable should not be used, as it has not been subject to the data cleansing!

the topic is accidentally typed in as having a secondary relevance, whilst it is only of peripheral relevance (verified via coding sheet). In cases 5455 and 5941, missing codes are verified from other statements within the same story that were typed in correctly.

– **'Media metatopic' present, but no 'media metaframe':** Overlap with the errors reported above. In addition, in cases 4501-4505, the 'media conduit topic' is not indicated on the coding sheet (verified via 'script types').

– **'Publicity metatopic' present, but no 'publicity metaframe':** Again, significant overlap with the above. Additionally, no codes are present in cases 1627-1636 (but they can be verified from coding sheet). In cases 2343-2349, 'publicity topics' are accidentally coded instead of 'media topics' (verified via coding sheet and 'script types' – only media types were present). Finally, in cases 6335-6341, 'media conduit' instead of 'publicity conduit' is coded accidentally (verified and corrected via original coding sheet).

– **'Media metaframes' present but no 'metatopics':** In cases 2731-2733 and 6352, script variables are coded despite a peripheral salience for the 'publicity metatopic'; all script variables are consequently deleted. In cases 2870 and 6353-6354, script variables are coded despite the absence of a 'metatopic'; all these script variables are deleted.

– **'Publicity metaframes' present but no 'metatopics':** In cases 444-446, 490-496, 876-877 and 1092-1097, the codes for the 'publicity topic' (202) are entered in at the 'media topic', this is corrected. In cases 2306-2308, script variables are present despite peripheral 'metatopic salience', the script variables are consequently deleted. Cases 2551-2559

and 3731-3742 use an incorrect code for 'publicity topic' (most likely a typo); this is corrected. In cases 4128-4131, 'metatopics' are not coded, this is corrected (a media conduit frame is also added, verified from script variables). Finally, in cases 4146-4147, script variables are coded despite no 'metatopic' being present, all script variables are thus deleted (verified via original coding sheets).

  - **'Media metaframes' present but no 'media metatopics':** In cases 234-241, 540-543, 589-595, 729-735, 741-744, 935-942, 1487-1494, 4357-4361, 4436-4441 and 4471-4474, a 'media metaframe' is coded despite a peripheral salience of the 'media metatopic', the 'media metaframes' are therefore deleted.
  - **'Publicity metaframes' present but no 'publicity metatopics':** In cases 419-429, 465-475, 509-516, 517-519, 610-612, 635-639, 664-670, 698-703, 2243-2249, 4576-4584, 5926 and 5955-5962, a 'publicity metaframe' is coded despite a peripheral salience of the 'publicity metatopic', the 'publicity metaframes' are thus deleted.

- Some coders indicate the various script variables even when 'metatopics' only reached peripheral salience. While this is ambitious (and non-desctructive), the problem is that this practice "inflates" the cases (i.e., propositions that should not be there are added as new units). This affects a huge amount of cases in the file and must be corrected manually (crosstabulation was used to identify the respective cases). All these additional, unnecessary statement level cases are deleted as well as the script coding present on the story level cases. This ensures equivalence in the number of scripts across the countries / coders (scripts, and thus proposition level metacoverage cases, would otherwise be inflated

in the respective data sets).

- An original 'meta frame 3' variable shows a value of 85; this is deleted as it is a typo (the 'topic-frame connection' is entered in the 'metaframe' accidentally; verified with the original coding sheet).
- Some coders broaden the different 'script objects' to include online media not present in the original codebook. This is a welcome addition, but not consistently present across the countries in the analysis at hand. Thus, they are recoded into 'script object clean'. For further details, consult the syntax files explained in appendix D (p. 332) for the detailed original and new codes.
- There are significant problems with original 'ID' 1110 in the UK ('final ID' 2988 and following); the data in the digital file is not consistent with the original coding sheet. The cases additionally present in the data file cannot be found in the coding sheets. They are thus deleted.
- Some mistakes are present for the 'Script Types': Code 44 (in case 402) is a typo; this is corrected with the original coding sheet. Code 59 ('final ID' 4839) is wrong on the coding sheet; this script is thus deleted. Code 552 ('final ID' 1536) is a typo; corrected with original coding sheet.
- The 'script position' does not show an SPSS value label for code 1 (i.e., 'peripheral position'), this is added. There are some data entry errors showing the value 33 instead of 3; this is corrected.
- 'Script source' typos: Code 12 (ID 411) typo should be 1; code 22 (ID 6042) should be 2. Both instances are verified with the original coding sheets.
- 'Candidate evaluation' mistakes: Code 8 (ID 1829) coded incorrectly on the coding sheet; this script has to be deleted. Code 3

(ID 2164) is a typo which should be 2 (verified via coding sheet). Code 3 (ID 2684) is coded wrong on the coding sheet, the script is deleted. And code 12 (ID 5126) is a typo that should be 2.

- 'Visual type' mistake: Code 0 (ID 4818) is a typo; should be a missing.
- The number of missings must be the same for 'script objects' and 'types'. There is one 'object' without a 'type' (ID 5336), this is recoded (verified with the original coding sheet). One 'script position' is missing (ID 1550); this is corrected using the original coding sheet. Furthermore, nine 'media topics' are coded without script codings: 'Final IDs' 315, 380-381, 671, 1308 , 2088, 2120, 3088 and 4123. These are all deleted as they are mistakes and should not be there.
- 'Visual type': 'Iconic pictures' is coded nine times when the visual information is 'audio only'; this is corrected (must be a missing value on the 'visual type').

B.1.2 Aggregation

This section documents the variables that are aggregated to the level of TV channels in order to be able to combine the soundbite and metacoverage projects. Information is provided in the following on which new variables are aggregated for each cluster of variables below and, if necessary, the filters and thresholds applied.

In SPSS, "custom tables" were used to create tables showing the TV channels in the rows and the variables (separately for each project) in the columns. This is completed for both projects and Excel files are then exported and saved as an intermediate step. These spreadsheets are then combined and imported back into a new SPSS data file in order to create the eventual aggregated data set. For further details, the process of aggregation

is documented in the syntax files explained in the appendix (section D, p. 332). Note that there are two ways of aggregating the data: Either rendering simple counts of occurrences (absolute numbers), which is needed for correspondence analysis; or calculating percentages (relative numbers), which is needed for the cross-validation with factor analysis, as well as the descriptive analyses. The basic circumstances in which variables are counted as occurrences are the same for both variations.

B.1.2.1 Soundbites

Soundbite variables are mainly concerned with 'message lengths' (of various 'soundbite types'), 'content' of soundbites and the amount of 'control' in soundbites. Some extremely long stories and extremely long soundbites are filtered out to remove extreme outliers (soundbites longer than three minutes and stories longer than seven minutes and thirty seconds). Filter variables are built for these long soundbites and stories.[74] 'Audiobites' ('soundbite type 7', $N = 27$) occur very infrequently and are thus also excluded in order not to inflate aggregated numbers. Furthermore, still pictures ('soundbite type 5', $N = 882$) are not relevant to the research question and thus also excluded.

'Story Length'

- The length of the story is aggregated in various ways. The filters (for extremely long stories and soundbites) are active for this aggregation, as well!

- 'Total length of campaign coverage' (sum of all 'story lengths')

[74] Besides the analytical implications, these filters are also used in order to approximate the results of previously published papers using the same data, as these outliers heavily bias the arithmetic mean. However, not each and every single value is consistent with each and every publication: The reason for this is that in the analysis at hand, one overarching filter has to be found for all countries, while previous analyses use a subsample of the countries and consequently apply specific filter values for each individual election campaign.

- 'Average story length' (mean of all 'story lengths')
- Number of 'short', 'medium' and 'long stories' (simple count)
  - Thresholds: 'Short story' $\leq$ 105 seconds; 106 sec. $<$ 'medium story' $\leq$ 155 sec.; 'Long story' $\geq$ 155 sec.
  - These thresholds are the 33.$\overline{3}$% and 66.$\overline{6}$% percentiles (assuming the filters for extremely long stories and soundbites are active). This ensures an equal distribution across the three grouped soundbite lengths.

'Soundbite Length'

- The length of soundbites (i.e., 'soundbite types' 7: 'Seen and heard') is aggregated in various ways.
- 'Total length of soundbites' (sum) for: Journalists, candidates, voters, experts
- 'Average length of soundbites' (mean) for: Journalists, candidates, voters, experts
- Number of 'short', 'medium' and 'long soundbites' (simple count) for: Journalists, candidates, voters, experts
  - Thresholds:[75] 'Journalists' 13 and 25 seconds; 'Candidates' 9 and 15 sec.; 'Voters' 6 and 12 sec.; 'Experts' 10 and 17 sec.
  - These thresholds are the 33.$\overline{3}$% and 66.$\overline{6}$% percentiles (assuming the filters for extremely long stories and soundbites are active). This ensures an equal distribution across the groups.

[75] To keep it simple, only the two percentiles are reported from here onwards instead of writing out the three groups. The notation is exemplified in the 'story length' above.

'Imagebite Length'

- The length of imagebites (i.e., 'soundbite types' 8: 'Candidate seen, but not heard') is aggregated in various ways.
- 'Total length of imagebites' (sum)
- 'Average length of imagebites' (mean)
- Number of 'short', 'medium' and 'long imagebites' (simple count)
  - Thresholds: 4 and 7 sec.
  - These thresholds are the $33.\overline{3}\%$ and $66.\overline{6}\%$ percentiles (assuming the filters for extremely long stories and soundbites are active). This ensures an equal distribution across the groups.
- Dummy for 'negative face expression'.
- Three dummies for 'composition' ('shown, but not heard'; 'lip-flap'; 'sound up').

'Content', 'Control' and 'Last Word of Story'; 'Last Image'

- Content: Four dummies for content ('issue or reaction to news', 'non-issue', 'attack', 'defense').
- Control: Dummy for 'fully controlled communication situation'
- Last word / last image of story: Two dummies ('last word by candidate', 'last image by candidate')

B.1.2.2 Metacoverage

A set of key variables is found in the metacoverage project. They can be divided into 'topic' variables, 'frame' variables and 'script' variables. For the latter, numbers are low (especially for single 'script types'). They are thus grouped according to theoretical considerations. Metacoverage 'topics',

'frames' and 'scripts' are *not* dichotomized if 'topic salience' = 1! An explanation of how they are aggregated for the analysis is provided below for each variable.

'Topics'

- Ten dummies for all single topics ('electoral and political system', 'ideology and political worldview', 'pro- and retrospective evaluation', 'issues and plans', 'non-issues and mistakes' 'personal character', 'voters and public opinion', 'electioneering and campaigning', 'media metatopic' and 'publicity metatopic').

- Six grouped dummies: 'Policy or polity topic' (from 'system' to 'issues'), 'process or personality topic' (from 'non-issues' to 'electioneering'); 'media metatopic', 'publicity metatopic', 'any metatopic' and 'both metatopics'.

'Frames'

- Six dummies for the single frames ('media conduit frame', 'media strategy frame', 'media accountability frame'; 'publicity conduit', 'publicity strategy', 'publicity accountability frame'). Missings are created if a case does not show the *respective* metatopic. Thus, only cases showing a metatopic are included in the aggregation.

- Two dummies for the main frames ('media frame' and 'publicity frame'). Missings are created if a case shows *no 'metatopic' at all*.

- A further dummy for 'both meta frames'. Missings are created if a case shows *no 'metatopic' at all*.

'Scripts'

- 'Script objects'

  - Individual dummies for all 'script objects' are not feasible, as the numbers are very low. Thus, the different objects are grouped.
  - Two dummies: 'Media script objects' (codes 1-7) and 'publicity script objects' (codes 10-44).
  - Two grouped dummies for 'media objects': 'Journalists and organizations' (codes 1, 2, 4, 6, 7) and 'media in general and relation to politics' (codes 3, 5).
  - Another three grouped dummies for 'media objects' (similar to the first grouping): 'Macro' (codes 3, 5), 'meso' (codes 2, 6, 7) and 'micro media objects' (codes 1, 4).
  - Two grouped dummies for 'publicity objects': 'Ads and marketing' (codes 10-20) and 'advisers and PR' (codes 30-44).

- 'Script types'
  - Two dummies for 'media script types' (codes 11-32) and 'publicity script types' (codes 41-62).
  - Six dummies for 'media conduit scripts' (codes 11-17), 'media strategy scripts' (codes 21-29), 'media accountability scripts' (codes 31-32), 'publicity conduit scripts' (code 41), 'publicity strategy scripts' (codes 51-56) and 'publicity accountability scripts' (codes 62-62).

- 'Script source': Dummy for 'journalistic script source'

- 'Candidate connection': Two dummies for candidate connections of scripts to either a 'left' or 'right' candidate.

- 'Candidate evaluation': One dummy for 'negative evaluation'.

- Three dummies for 'visual info': 'Visual info only', 'audio info only' and 'audio-visual info'.

- Three dummies for 'visual type': 'Iconic pictures', 'indexical pictures' and 'schematic pictures and graphs'.

B.2 Calculations

This section discusses the calculations used in this study. The methodological explanations firstly start with a section on the exploratory analysis (section B.2.1, p. 259), followed by the documentation of the explanatory analysis (section B.2.2, p. 288). The former discusses the correspondence (section B.2.1.1, p. 260) and cluster analysis (section B.2.1.2, p. 278) as well as the cross-validation with factor analysis (section B.2.1.3, p. 283), while the latter presents an in-depth explanation of the basic principles and the practical application of QCA.[76]

B.2.1 Documentation of the Exploratory Analysis

The documentation of the exploratory analysis contains *three sections*: The first section explains the correspondence analysis identifying the dimensions of reporting styles (section B.2.1.1, p. 260). As correspondence analysis is an effective approach that is rarely used in media and communication science, this section is detailed. The second section presents the cluster analysis used to flesh out the models of the typology (section B.2.1.2, p. 278). As cluster analysis is more common in exploratory media- and communication science studies (for a well executed example, see Wessler et al., 2008), fewer details are provided on the method itself than for the correspondence analysis. The final section contains a brief report on the methodological details of the cross-validation with factor analysis (section B.2.1.3, p. 283). All relevant interpretations are presented in the main text body (chapter IV, p. 102).

[76] As correspondence analysis as well as QCA are relatively uncommon, but very useful techniques in media- and communication sciences, their methodological principles (and consequential implications) are discussed in detail with many references to relevant methodological literature. Cluster- and especially factor analysis are explained in less detail, as they are well known and widely applied.

B.2.1.1 Correspondence Analysis

Correspondence analysis is an exploratory statistical method used to graphically illustrate the rows and columns of contingency tables (e.g., Blasius, 2001, p. 6). It is based on the calculation of expected frequencies in contingency tables and χ^2-distances (cf. Blasius, 2001, p. 25-29).[77] The proceedings and results are similar to principal component factor analysis, but correspondence analysis relies heavily on visual illustrations of the findings, while factor analysis focuses mainly on mathematical interpretations of the resulting factors. Since correspondence analysis works with nominal data, it is often described as and compared to "factor analysis for categorical data" (e.g., Greenacre, 1984, p. 36, 39, 182-184; Blasius, 2001, p. 6). Generally, it is a means to decompose χ^2-statistics (while factor analysis is a means to decompose the total variance of a distribution). The goal is thus to *reduce* a number of variables to fewer *dimensions*, while retaining as much information (i.e., variance) as possible. As with any exploratory statistical approach, the result is always a trade-off between statistical parsimony (i.e., as few dimensions as possible) and information loss (i.e., retaining the variance in the original variables). The researcher therefore has to investigate different possible scenarios to reach an ideal solution with as few dimensions as necessary, but as much original information still present as possible.

Analyzing *complex tables* made up of several single tables is a main advantage of correspondence analysis, catering to the realistic needs of social science research: Describing just a single categorical variable works well by simply looking at row and column percentages in a table, while data reduction methods are needed to cope with the complexity once more variables are added. There are many examples of this type of analysis of a complex, composite table, ranging from the classical sociological analyses of "social capital" by Bourdieu (1979) to a few sparse applications of the

[77] See equations B.4, B.5 and B.11 on p. 264, 264 and 271.

approach in media- and communication science (e.g., Schäfer, 2010; Esser, 2008; Scheuch, 1988). As such, the method is also an excellent approach for combining (aggregated) data sets from several sources. Since all analyses are based on treating rows and columns in the correspondence table separately, there is no limit other than a practical one to the number of cases and variables which can be processed using correspondence analysis. The method is therefore able to process small numbers of cases to find structures behind given data (Blasius, 2001, p. 330). Small sample sizes also provide an opportunity to directly compare individual cases present in the correspondence analysis – either by visually inspecting how far apart they are in the multi-dimensional space resulting from correspondence analysis, or by comparing their masses and dimension scores.

As with factor analysis, correspondence analysis *proceeds in three steps* (cf. Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 680): Firstly (1), raw data need to be prepared and standardized; secondly (2), dimensions need to be extracted; and thirdly (3), the result must be normalized. This general process of correspondence analyses is explained below. In addition, tables depicting the actual data used in this study are presented. Reading examples for important parameters are given to illustrate the possible interpretations. The actual discussion and interpretation of the available data is presented in the main text body in section IV.2.1 (starting on p. 149). Backhaus et al. (2003, p. 716) provide an example of a practical application of correspondence analysis, including the relevant SPSS syntax command (that is also applied in this study).

Standardization of Raw Data The first step is to prepare a *correspondence table*. Basically, this nomenclature describes the complete "data set" of the correspondence analysis, displaying cases in rows and variables in columns, just like any data set. This information can be found in Table B.1 on p. 263. There are 14 cases (TV channels) and 14 variables (various features of the election campaign coverage of the respective TV channel,

election or country). The cells themselves contain raw frequencies, while the sums of the rows and columns are displayed as "active margin". For example, out of 567 instances of media conduit frames, 14 occurred in ABC newscasts. For ABC, 625 observations had been made. A total of 11'982 coding decisions was made across all variables and TV channels.

Furthermore, the raw frequencies displayed in the correspondence table need to be standardized. Several types of standardization are needed for this application and are thus documented in this appendix. Since correspondence analysis is calculated on the basis of data relative to the total N, the calculations of shares relative to the total ($p_{ij_{total}}$) are presented as a first standardized value. The formula is:

$$p_{ij\ \text{Total}} = \frac{n_{ij}}{N} \tag{B.1}$$

where n_{ij} is the raw frequency of a single cell and N is the total frequency.

This information is given in Table B.2 on p. 265. The values are directly interpreted in terms of shares of the respective cell in all coded statements. For example, out of all coded statements across all countries and variables, 0.12% are media conduit frames found in ABC newscasts. The sums of the rows and columns respectively correspond to the relative frequencies of the respective rows and columns: 4.73% of all coded statements are media conduit frames, 5.22% of all coded statements are found in ABC newscasts. In correspondence analysis, these are the so-called "masses" of the rows (p_{i*}) and columns (p_{*j}).[78] The formulae are:

$$p_{i*} = \frac{n_{i*}}{N} \tag{B.2}$$

and

$$p_{*j} = \frac{n_{*j}}{N} \tag{B.3}$$

[78] Naturally, the masses of the rows and columns can also be found in the tables depicting the row and column profiles (Tables B.4 and B.5, p. 269 and 270).

Country & Channel		Metacoverage Frames				Metacoverage Topics & Soundbite Content					Cand. Soundbite Length			Message Type		Total
		Media Conduit	Media Strategy	Publ. Conduit	Publ. Strategy	Policy & Polity Topic	Process & Pers. Topic	Both Meta Topics	Any Meta Topic	Issues	Short	Medium	Long	Journ. Message	Cand. Seen & Heard	Active Margin
US 08	ABC	14	0	1	6	16	35	3	18	42	89	38	38	160	165	625
	NBC	14	2	2	14	22	51	3	29	51	131	41	8	190	180	738
	CNN	53	8	11	26	26	99	22	78	38	62	53	65	276	180	997
	FOX	83	15	21	35	62	181	34	124	48	58	79	53	278	190	1'261
UK 10	BBC1	19	1	4	6	125	96	1	28	83	69	82	95	282	246	1'137
	ITV1	48	2	3	8	89	162	2	60	99	155	70	57	363	282	1'400
CH 11	Tagesschau	2	0	1	1	17	24	0	5	9	3	3	10	36	16	127
	10v10	2	0	1	3	9	19	0	6	9	4	4	9	29	17	112
DE 09	ARD	8	2	4	3	15	31	2	14	3	25	17	3	47	45	219
	RTL	8	2	4	2	14	26	2	11	20	15	27	13	55	55	254
FR 07	TF1	130	0	7	91	97	202	54	177	62	73	44	47	160	164	1'308
	F2	162	3	24	91	108	228	66	205	86	73	73	55	215	201	1'590
IT 08	RAI1	16	4	26	3	110	121	2	47	152	50	91	164	196	305	1287
	Canale5	8	3	35	3	61	71	2	47	143	19	75	133	100	227	927
Active Margin		567	42	144	292	771	1'346	193	849	845	826	697	750	2'387	2'273	11'982

Table B.1: Correspondence Table (Data Correspondence Analysis)

where n_{i*} is the sum of all columns for a single row and n_{*j} is the sum of all rows for a single column (i.e., the row and column totals).

As mentioned, correspondence analysis is based on χ^2-statistics. The first step in computing χ^2 is the calculation of "expected frequencies", which is the anticipated values shown in single cells to show independence between the rows and columns of the table (as well as constant column and row totals). Expected frequencies are calculated by multiplying the row and column total for the respective cell and dividing it by the overall N. The formula for the expected frequency e_{ij} is shown in equation B.4:

$$e_{ij} = \frac{n_{i*} \times n_{*j}}{N} \tag{B.4}$$

where e is the expected frequency, $_i$ and $_j$ refer to rows and columns respectively, N is the total number and n is a subsample of all cases, and $_{i*}$ and $_{j*}$ are the row and column totals respectively. χ^2 is then calculated by comparing the empirical and expected frequencies of each single cell (mathematically speaking, it is the squared subtraction of the empirical and expected frequency, divided by the expected frequency, summed across all rows and columns):

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{I} \sum_{j=1}^{J} \frac{(n_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{e_{ij}}. \tag{B.5}$$

χ^2 is not standardized and can thus reach arbitrarily high values, depending on the sample size (the parameter value rises with larger sample sizes). The only interpretation possible is that if $\chi^2 \neq 0$, the rows and columns in the table are not completely independent of each other (in other words, if $e_{ij} = n_{ij}$ for all cells, the numerator of the χ^2-formula (equation B.5) and thus the whole equation result is 0).

Correspondence analysis works with the relative frequencies (share of total N) to calculate the expected frequencies. Table B.3 (p. 267) displays the respective values. In the formula, the factors are simply switched to relative

Country & Channel		Metacoverage Frames				Metacoverage Topics & Soundbite Content					Cand. Soundbite Length			Message Type		Total
		Media Conduit	Media Strategy	Publ. Conduit	Publ. Strategy	Policy & Polity Topic	Process & Pers. Topic	Both Meta Topics	Any Meta Topic	Issues	Short	Medium	Long	Journ. Message	Cand. Seen & Heard	
US 08	ABC	0.0012	0.0000	0.0001	0.0005	0.0013	0.0029	0.0003	0.0015	0.0035	0.0074	0.0032	0.0032	0.0134	0.0138	0.0522
	NBC	0.0012	0.0002	0.0002	0.0012	0.0018	0.0043	0.0003	0.0024	0.0043	0.0109	0.0034	0.0007	0.0159	0.0150	0.0616
	CNN	0.0044	0.0007	0.0009	0.0022	0.0022	0.0083	0.0018	0.0065	0.0032	0.0052	0.0044	0.0054	0.0230	0.0150	0.0832
	FOX	0.0069	0.0013	0.0018	0.0029	0.0052	0.0151	0.0028	0.0103	0.0040	0.0048	0.0066	0.0044	0.0232	0.0159	0.1052
UK 10	BBC1	0.0016	0.0001	0.0003	0.0005	0.0104	0.0080	0.0001	0.0023	0.0069	0.0058	0.0068	0.0079	0.0235	0.0205	0.0949
	ITV1	0.0040	0.0002	0.0003	0.0007	0.0074	0.0135	0.0002	0.0050	0.0083	0.0129	0.0058	0.0048	0.0303	0.0235	0.1168
CH 11	Tagesschau	0.0002	0.0000	0.0001	0.0001	0.0014	0.0020	0.0000	0.0004	0.0008	0.0003	0.0003	0.0008	0.0030	0.0013	0.0106
	10v10	0.0002	0.0000	0.0001	0.0003	0.0008	0.0016	0.0000	0.0005	0.0008	0.0003	0.0003	0.0008	0.0024	0.0014	0.0093
DE 09	ARD	0.0007	0.0002	0.0003	0.0003	0.0013	0.0026	0.0002	0.0012	0.0003	0.0021	0.0014	0.0003	0.0039	0.0038	0.0183
	RTL	0.0007	0.0002	0.0003	0.0002	0.0012	0.0022	0.0002	0.0009	0.0017	0.0013	0.0023	0.0011	0.0046	0.0046	0.0212
FR 07	TF1	0.0108	0.0000	0.0006	0.0076	0.0081	0.0169	0.0045	0.0148	0.0052	0.0061	0.0037	0.0039	0.0134	0.0137	0.1092
	F2	0.0135	0.0003	0.0020	0.0076	0.0090	0.0190	0.0055	0.0171	0.0072	0.0061	0.0061	0.0046	0.0179	0.0168	0.1327
IT 08	RAI1	0.0013	0.0003	0.0022	0.0003	0.0092	0.0101	0.0002	0.0039	0.0127	0.0042	0.0076	0.0137	0.0164	0.0255	0.1074
	Canale5	0.0007	0.0003	0.0029	0.0003	0.0051	0.0059	0.0002	0.0039	0.0119	0.0016	0.0063	0.0111	0.0083	0.0189	0.0774
Total		0.0473	0.0035	0.0120	0.0244	0.0643	0.1123	0.0161	0.0709	0.0705	0.0689	0.0582	0.0626	0.1992	0.1897	1.0000

Table B.2: Relative Frequencies (Correspondence Analysis)

frequencies:

$$\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{I} \sum_{j=1}^{J} \frac{(p_{ij} - \hat{e}_{ij})^2}{\hat{e}_{ij}} \tag{B.6}$$

where p_{ij} are the relative frequencies of the single cells and $\hat{e}_{ij}$ are the respective expected relative frequencies:

$$\hat{e}_{ij} = p_{i*} \times p_{*j}. \tag{B.7}$$

Note that, while the expected frequencies and the value of χ^2 itself obviously differ between the correspondence table (Table B.1, p. 263) and the table with the relative frequencies (Table B.2, p. 265), the amount of (in)dependence between the rows and columns (and thus the measures of association based on standardizing χ^2) will stay the same (since the relations within the contingency table and thus the dependence between the row and the column stay constant). The parameter frequently used to standardize χ^2 is *Cramér's V*, which is the square root of χ^2 divided by the total number of cases multiplied by the smaller of the numbers of rows or columns minus one:

$$\textit{Cramér's } V = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N \times \min(I-1, J-1)}}. \tag{B.8}$$

Cramér's V is standardized to reach values between 0 (perfect independence) and 1 (perfect dependence). It is thus an adequate measure to indicate the strength of the association between two categorical variables (cf. Blasius, 2001, p. 26). Note that a small value for *Cramér's V* does not necessarily indicate that the respective data is unsuitable for a correspondence analysis, since meaningful patterns might still be explored between single data points even if the whole correspondence table indicates a weak association between the row and column.

Row and column percentages also have to be calculated (e.g., Blasius, 2001, p. 15-18). Correspondence analysis denominates row and column

Country & Channel		Metacoverage Frames				Metacoverage Topics & Soundbite Content					Cand. Soundbite Length			Message Type		Total
		Media Conduit	Media Strategy	Publ. Conduit	Publ. Strategy	Policy & Polity Topic	Process & Pers. Topic	Both Meta Topics	Any Meta Topic	Issues	Short	Medium	Long	Journ. Message	Cand. Seen & Heard	
US 08	ABC	0.0025	0.0002	0.0006	0.0013	0.0034	0.0059	0.0008	0.0037	0.0037	0.0036	0.0030	0.0033	0.0104	0.0099	0.0522
	NBC	0.0029	0.0002	0.0007	0.0015	0.0040	0.0069	0.0010	0.0044	0.0043	0.0042	0.0036	0.0039	0.0123	0.0117	0.0616
	CNN	0.0039	0.0003	0.0010	0.0020	0.0054	0.0093	0.0013	0.0059	0.0059	0.0057	0.0048	0.0052	0.0166	0.0158	0.0832
	FOX	0.0050	0.0004	0.0013	0.0026	0.0068	0.0118	0.0017	0.0075	0.0074	0.0073	0.0061	0.0066	0.0210	0.0200	0.1052
UK 10	BBC1	0.0045	0.0003	0.0011	0.0023	0.0061	0.0107	0.0015	0.0067	0.0067	0.0065	0.0055	0.0059	0.0189	0.0180	0.0949
	ITV1	0.0055	0.0004	0.0014	0.0028	0.0075	0.0131	0.0019	0.0083	0.0082	0.0081	0.0068	0.0073	0.0233	0.0222	0.1168
CH 11	Tagesschau	0.0005	0.0000	0.0001	0.0003	0.0007	0.0012	0.0002	0.0008	0.0007	0.0007	0.0006	0.0007	0.0021	0.0020	0.0106
	10v10	0.0004	0.0000	0.0001	0.0002	0.0006	0.0011	0.0002	0.0007	0.0007	0.0006	0.0005	0.0006	0.0019	0.0018	0.0093
DE 09	ARD	0.0009	0.0001	0.0002	0.0004	0.0012	0.0021	0.0003	0.0013	0.0013	0.0013	0.0011	0.0011	0.0036	0.0035	0.0183
	RTL	0.0010	0.0001	0.0003	0.0005	0.0014	0.0024	0.0003	0.0015	0.0015	0.0015	0.0012	0.0013	0.0042	0.0040	0.0212
FR 07	TF1	0.0052	0.0004	0.0013	0.0027	0.0070	0.0123	0.0018	0.0077	0.0077	0.0075	0.0064	0.0068	0.0217	0.0207	0.1092
	F2	0.0063	0.0005	0.0016	0.0032	0.0085	0.0149	0.0021	0.0094	0.0094	0.0091	0.0077	0.0083	0.0264	0.0252	0.1327
IT 08	RAI1	0.0051	0.0004	0.0013	0.0026	0.0069	0.0121	0.0017	0.0076	0.0076	0.0074	0.0062	0.0067	0.0214	0.0204	0.1074
	Canale5	0.0037	0.0003	0.0009	0.0019	0.0050	0.0087	0.0012	0.0055	0.0055	0.0053	0.0045	0.0048	0.0154	0.0147	0.0774
Total		0.0473	0.0035	0.0120	0.0244	0.0643	0.1123	0.0161	0.0709	0.0705	0.0689	0.0582	0.0626	0.1992	0.1897	1.0000

Table B.3: Expected Relative Frequencies (Correspondence Analysis)

percentages as "row profiles" and "column profiles".[79] The sum of the shares of all rows (in the row profiles) or all columns (in the column profiles) make up the so-called "masses", i.e., the share of all observations made up by one variable (in the row profile) or by one case (in the column profile). In this analysis, the row and column profiles are found in Tables B.4 and B.5 on p. 269 and 270. The formulae for the row profiles ($p_{ij\ \text{Row}}$) and column profiles ($p_{ij\ \text{Column}}$) are:

$$p_{ij\ \text{Row}} = \frac{n_{ij}}{n_{i*}} \tag{B.9}$$

and

$$p_{ij\ \text{Column}} = \frac{n_{ij}}{n_{*j}}. \tag{B.10}$$

All statistical parameters in the row and column profiles can be interpreted directly as shares. The *row profiles* (Table B.4) show row percentages, i.e., the share of all instances in which a specific variable is observed. For example, 2.24% of all ABC propositions show the presence of a media conduit frame. Out of all observations, the media conduit frame has a share of 4.73% (known as the "mass" of the media conduit frames in the terms of the correspondence analysis). The *column profiles* (Table B.5) are interpreted in the same way. For instance, out of all observations of media conduit frames, 2.46% are present in ABC. The masses are read equivalently, as well: Out of all observations made, 5.22% have been registered for the TV content of ABC (in other words, the mass of ABC is 0.0522).

So far, all calculations with regard to the first step (standardization of data) apply basic percentage calculations (i.e., relative to the row total, column total, or grand total). However, another type of standardization is used in correspondence analysis, which is based on *centering* data. This shifts the centroids (i.e., the mean) of the row and column profiles to the origin of coordinates of the respective configuration (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 693). A modification of the formula for χ^2 (equation B.6) is thus

[79] The data is usually displayed in shares rather than percentages. This convention is followed in this study.

Country & Channel		Metacoverage Frames				Metacoverage Topics & Soundbite Content					Cand. Soundbite Length			Message Type		Total
		Media Conduit	Media Strategy	Publ. Conduit	Publ. Strategy	Policy & Polity Topic	Process & Pers. Topic	Both Meta Topics	Any Meta Topic	Issues	Short	Medium	Long	Journ. Message	Cand. Seen & Heard	Active Margin
US 08	ABC	0.0224	0.0000	0.0016	0.0096	0.0256	0.0560	0.0048	0.0288	0.0672	0.1424	0.0608	0.0608	0.2560	0.2640	1.0000
	NBC	0.0190	0.0027	0.0027	0.0190	0.0298	0.0691	0.0041	0.0393	0.0691	0.1775	0.0556	0.0108	0.2575	0.2439	1.0000
	CNN	0.0532	0.0080	0.0110	0.0261	0.0261	0.0993	0.0221	0.0782	0.0381	0.0622	0.0532	0.0652	0.2768	0.1805	1.0000
	FOX	0.0658	0.0119	0.0167	0.0278	0.0492	0.1435	0.0270	0.0983	0.0381	0.0460	0.0626	0.0420	0.2205	0.1507	1.0000
UK 10	BBC1	0.0167	0.0009	0.0035	0.0053	0.1099	0.0844	0.0009	0.0246	0.0730	0.0607	0.0721	0.0836	0.2480	0.2164	1.0000
	ITV1	0.0343	0.0014	0.0021	0.0057	0.0636	0.1157	0.0014	0.0429	0.0707	0.1107	0.0500	0.0407	0.2593	0.2014	1.0000
CH 11	Tagesschau	0.0157	0.0000	0.0079	0.0079	0.1339	0.1890	0.0000	0.0394	0.0709	0.0236	0.0236	0.0787	0.2835	0.1260	1.0000
	10v10	0.0179	0.0000	0.0089	0.0268	0.0804	0.1696	0.0000	0.0536	0.0804	0.0357	0.0357	0.0804	0.2589	0.1518	1.0000
DE 09	ARD	0.0365	0.0091	0.0183	0.0137	0.0685	0.1416	0.0091	0.0639	0.0137	0.1142	0.0776	0.0137	0.2146	0.2055	1.0000
	RTL	0.0315	0.0079	0.0157	0.0079	0.0551	0.1024	0.0079	0.0433	0.0787	0.0591	0.1063	0.0512	0.2165	0.2165	1.0000
FR 07	TF1	0.0994	0.0000	0.0054	0.0696	0.0742	0.1544	0.0413	0.1353	0.0474	0.0558	0.0336	0.0359	0.1223	0.1254	1.0000
	F2	0.1019	0.0019	0.0151	0.0572	0.0679	0.1434	0.0415	0.1289	0.0541	0.0459	0.0459	0.0346	0.1352	0.1264	1.0000
IT 08	RAI1	0.0124	0.0031	0.0202	0.0023	0.0855	0.0940	0.0016	0.0365	0.1181	0.0389	0.0707	0.1274	0.1523	0.2370	1.0000
	Canale5	0.0086	0.0032	0.0378	0.0032	0.0658	0.0766	0.0022	0.0507	0.1543	0.0205	0.0809	0.1435	0.1079	0.2449	1.0000
Mass		0.0473	0.0035	0.0120	0.0244	0.0643	0.1123	0.0161	0.0709	0.0705	0.0689	0.0582	0.0626	0.1992	0.1897	

Table B.4: Row Profiles (Correspondence Analysis)

Country & Channel		Metacoverage Frames				Metacoverage Topics & Soundbite Content					Cand. Soundbite Length			Message Type		Total
		Media Conduit	Media Strategy	Publ. Conduit	Publ. Strategy	Policy & Polity Topic	Process & Pers. Topic	Both Meta Topics	Any Meta Topic	Issues	Short	Medium	Long	Journ. Message	Cand. Seen & Heard	Mass
US 08	ABC	0.0247	0.0000	0.0069	0.0205	0.0208	0.0260	0.0155	0.0212	0.0497	0.1077	0.0545	0.0507	0.0670	0.0726	0.0522
	NBC	0.0247	0.0476	0.0139	0.0479	0.0285	0.0379	0.0155	0.0342	0.0604	0.1586	0.0588	0.0107	0.0796	0.0792	0.0616
	CNN	0.0935	0.1905	0.0764	0.0890	0.0337	0.0736	0.1140	0.0919	0.0450	0.0751	0.0760	0.0867	0.1156	0.0792	0.0832
	FOX	0.1464	0.3571	0.1458	0.1199	0.0804	0.1345	0.1762	0.1461	0.0568	0.0702	0.1133	0.0707	0.1165	0.0836	0.1052
UK 10	BBC1	0.0335	0.0238	0.0278	0.0205	0.1621	0.0713	0.0052	0.0330	0.0982	0.0835	0.1176	0.1267	0.1181	0.1082	0.0949
	ITV1	0.0847	0.0476	0.0208	0.0274	0.1154	0.1204	0.0104	0.0707	0.1172	0.1877	0.1004	0.0760	0.1521	0.1241	0.1168
CH 11	Tagesschau	0.0035	0.0000	0.0069	0.0034	0.0220	0.0178	0.0000	0.0059	0.0107	0.0036	0.0043	0.0133	0.0151	0.0070	0.0106
	10v10	0.0035	0.0000	0.0069	0.0103	0.0117	0.0141	0.0000	0.0071	0.0107	0.0048	0.0057	0.0120	0.0121	0.0075	0.0093
DE 09	ARD	0.0141	0.0476	0.0278	0.0103	0.0195	0.0230	0.0104	0.0165	0.0036	0.0303	0.0244	0.0040	0.0197	0.0198	0.0183
	RTL	0.0141	0.0476	0.0278	0.0068	0.0182	0.0193	0.0104	0.0130	0.0237	0.0182	0.0387	0.0173	0.0230	0.0242	0.0212
FR 07	TF1	0.2293	0.0000	0.0486	0.3116	0.1258	0.1501	0.2798	0.2085	0.0734	0.0884	0.0631	0.0627	0.0670	0.0722	0.1092
	F2	0.2857	0.0714	0.1667	0.3116	0.1401	0.1694	0.3420	0.2415	0.1018	0.0884	0.1047	0.0733	0.0901	0.0884	0.1327
IT 08	RAI1	0.0282	0.0952	0.1806	0.0103	0.1427	0.0899	0.0104	0.0554	0.1799	0.0605	0.1306	0.2187	0.0821	0.1342	0.1074
	Canale5	0.0141	0.0714	0.2431	0.0103	0.0791	0.0527	0.0104	0.0554	0.1692	0.0230	0.1076	0.1773	0.0419	0.0999	0.0774
Active Margin		1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	1.0000	

Table B.5: Column Profiles (Correspondence Analysis)

implemented to calculate the "χ^2-distances" (cf. Blasius, 2001, p. 25-30). χ^2-distances are a type of Euclidean distance, i.e., calculated by applying the Pythagorean theorem to compute the length of a hypotenuse between two data points in an n-dimensional space. They are also called "singular values" in correspondence analysis nomenclature. Since relative frequencies are used in correspondence analysis, the resulting distances are always standardized by the total number of cases in contrast to the raw value of χ^2 (see equation B.6, p. 266). The modified formula is:

$$z_{ij} = \frac{p_{ij} - \hat{e}_{ij}}{\sqrt{\hat{e}_{ij}}} \tag{B.11}$$

which is mathematically equivalent to the calculation for a single cell in equation B.6 on p. 266 (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 693). Table B.6 (p. 272) displays the data for this study.

Squaring these singular values results in the "inertia", while adding the inertiae of all single cells together (i.e., adding together the individual squared χ^2-distances) results in the "total inertia" (e.g., Blasius, 2001, p. 51-52). Since χ^2-distances are calculated by relating the equation for χ^2 to N, the total inertia can therefore also be calculated by dividing χ^2 by N (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 690):[80]

$$T = \frac{\chi^2}{N}. \tag{B.12}$$

Extraction of the Dimensions As mentioned at the beginning of subsection B.2.1.1 (p. 260), the second step is the extraction of the dimensions (which represent the found patterns in the data). In principle, the logic behind this extraction is very similar to the equivalent step in factor analysis, with the inertia (of single dimensions) being the similar parameter to the "Eigenwert" in factor analysis (cf. Blasius, 2001, p. 91). The maximum number of dimensions possible in a table is $K = \min(I, J) - 1$ (the smaller

[80] The total inertia is similar to Cramér's V (see equation B.8, p. 266) and can thus be interpreted analogously as standardized χ^2. It is only the maximum value possible that differs between the two measures.

Country & Channel		Metacoverage Frames				Metacoverage Topics & Soundbite Content					Cand. Soundbite Length			Message Type	
		Media Conduit	**Media Strategy**	**Publ. Conduit**	**Publ. Strategy**	**Policy & Polity Topic**	**Process & Pers. Topic**	**Both Meta Topics**	**Any Meta Topic**	**Issues**	**Short**	**Medium**	**Long**	**Journ. Message**	**Cand. Seen & Heard**
US 08	ABC	-0.0262	-0.0135	-0.0217	-0.0216	-0.0349	-0.0384	-0.0203	-0.0361	-0.0029	0.0639	0.0025	-0.0016	0.0291	0.0390
	NBC	-0.0323	-0.0033	-0.0211	-0.0086	-0.0338	-0.0320	-0.0235	-0.0294	-0.0013	0.1026	-0.0027	-0.0513	0.0324	0.0309
	CNN	0.0077	0.0220	-0.0026	0.0032	-0.0435	-0.0112	0.0135	0.0080	-0.0352	-0.0074	-0.0060	0.0030	0.0502	-0.0061
	FOX	0.0276	0.0460	0.0137	0.0070	-0.0194	0.0302	0.0277	0.0335	-0.0397	-0.0283	0.0060	-0.0267	0.0154	-0.0291
UK 10	BBC1	-0.0433	-0.0137	-0.0239	-0.0377	0.0554	-0.0256	-0.0370	-0.0535	0.0029	-0.0097	0.0178	0.0258	0.0337	0.0189
	ITV1	-0.0205	-0.0120	-0.0308	-0.0408	-0.0010	0.0034	-0.0395	-0.0360	0.0002	0.0544	-0.0116	-0.0299	0.0460	0.0092
CH 11	Tagesschau	-0.0149	-0.0061	-0.0039	-0.0109	0.0282	0.0235	-0.0131	-0.0122	0.0001	-0.0178	-0.0147	0.0066	0.0194	-0.0151
	10v10	-0.0131	-0.0057	-0.0027	0.0015	0.0061	0.0165	-0.0123	-0.0063	0.0036	-0.0122	-0.0090	0.0069	0.0129	-0.0084
DE 09	ARD	-0.0067	0.0128	0.0077	-0.0092	0.0022	0.0118	-0.0074	-0.0035	-0.0289	0.0233	0.0109	-0.0264	0.0047	0.0049
	RTL	-0.0106	0.0107	0.0050	-0.0154	-0.0053	-0.0043	-0.0094	-0.0151	0.0045	-0.0055	0.0291	-0.0066	0.0056	0.0090
FR 07	TF1	0.0791	-0.0196	-0.0201	0.0957	0.0128	0.0415	0.0655	0.0800	-0.0288	-0.0165	-0.0336	-0.0352	-0.0569	-0.0488
	F2	0.0914	-0.0100	0.0102	0.0767	0.0051	0.0338	0.0729	0.0795	-0.0225	-0.0319	-0.0185	-0.0408	-0.0522	-0.0529
IT 08	RAI1	-0.0526	-0.0022	0.0245	-0.0463	0.0273	-0.0179	-0.0376	-0.0423	0.0587	-0.0376	0.0170	0.0849	-0.0345	0.0356
	Canale5	-0.0495	-0.0013	0.0653	-0.0377	0.0016	-0.0297	-0.0306	-0.0211	0.0877	-0.0513	0.0262	0.0899	-0.0569	0.0352

Table B.6: Standardized χ^2-Distances (Correspondence Analysis)

number of either rows or columns minus one), which is also the possible maximum value of the total inertia (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 695). Since this study deploys 14 cases and 14 variables, the correspondence analysis could theoretically detect up to 13 dimensions and the total inertia can reach a value of 13 at most. However, most correspondence analyses opt for two-dimensional solutions – mainly because two dimensions are easy to visualize graphically, which is the key goal of correspondence analysis and its main advantage over factor analysis or multi-dimensional scaling (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 695).

To extract the dimensions with as little loss of information as possible, correspondence analysis employs *"Singular Value Decomposition"*, a general method of matrix algebra. It uses the matrix of standardized χ^2-distances z_{ij} (see equation B.11, p. 271; the data in this study are presented in Table B.6 on p. 272) in order to decompose χ^2. In matrix algebra notation, the formula to decompose the singular values is (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 696):

$$\mathbf{Z} = \mathbf{U} \times \mathbf{S} \times \mathbf{V}' \tag{B.13}$$

where:

$\mathbf{Z} = (z_{ij})$: $(I \times J)$ – the matrix with the standardized data

$\mathbf{U} = (u_{ik})$: $(I \times K)$ – the matrix with the row points

$\mathbf{V} = (v_{jk})$: $(J \times K)$ – the matrix with the column points

$\mathbf{S} = (s_{kk})$: $(K \times K)$ – the diagonal matrix with the singular values.

$\mathbf{V}'$ denotes the transposed matrix $\mathbf{V}$. For further details on this step, please consult the textbooks on this methodology (e.g., Greenacre, 1984, p. 35-41; Blasius, 2001, p. 84-86; Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 695-698).

Normalization of Coordinates Finally, the row and column coordinates need to be normalized. The singular values s_k are used to weight the dimensions, while the row and column masses (p_{i*} and p_{*j}) function as weights for the rows and columns (cf. Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 698).

These normalizations will result in the final coordinates for the row and column points (i.e., the coordinates that localize cases and variables in the n-dimensional space). There are different variations of normalization, the one descibed here is the so-called *"symmetrical normalization"* or "French school" (Carroll et al., 1987) and is by far the most widespread type. For an overview of various forms of normalization and their (dis-)advantages, see Backhaus et al. (2003, p. 703-708).

Table B.7 on p. 275 displays the *summary* of the correspondence analysis at hand. The following statistics are shown: Singular values, inertia, total inertia, share each dimension's inertia shows in the total inertia, χ^2 and its significance. The dimensions are sorted by their explanatory power. As with most applications of correspondence analysis, this study extracts only the first two dimensions: The explanatory power becomes substantially lower after the second dimension. Together, they explain 83.9% of the total inertia. As the sample is vast with $N = 11'982$ statements, χ^2 is also relatively high ($\chi^2 = 2'623.7$). Standardizing χ^2 results in *Cramér's* $V = 0.1298$,[81] which shows that there is at least some degree of dependency between the rows and columns.[82]

Finally, the last two tables in the correspondence analysis show the actual *row and column points* of the solution (see Table B.8, p. 276 for the row points and Table B.9 on p. 277 for the column points). Since both tables can be read in the same way for the rows and columns, only the row points (Table B.8) are discussed in the appendix to serve as reading example.

Several parameters can be interpreted and used for further calculations. Firstly, the *scores in the two dimensions* are the results of the singular value decomposition and thus the normalized coordinates of each case or variable in the two-dimensional space. These coordinates are used to visualize the re-

[81] The interpretation of the total inertia $T = 0.2190$ is comparable to *Cramér's* V; also see footnote 80 on p. 271.

[82] As mentioned, a low value for *Cramér's* V does not necessarily imply that correspondence analysis cannot be completed for the respective data – interesting patterns between the row and column points can exist nevertheless.

Dimension	Sing. Val.	Inertia	χ^2	Sig.	Proportion of Inertia		Confidence Sing. Val.	
					Accounted for	Cumulative	Std. Dev.	Corr.
1	0.3520	0.1239			0.5657	0.5657	0.0085	0.1073
2	0.2445	0.0598			0.2731	0.8388	0.0090	
3	0.1192	0.0142			0.0649	0.9037		
4	0.1089	0.0119			0.0542	0.9579		
5	0.0645	0.0042			0.0190	0.9769		
6	0.0518	0.0027			0.0123	0.9892		
7	0.0311	0.0010			0.0044	0.9936		
8	0.0258	0.0007			0.0030	0.9966		
9	0.0199	0.0004			0.0018	0.9985		
10	0.0164	0.0003			0.0012	0.9997		
11	0.0078	0.0001			0.0003	1.0000		
12	0.0031	0.0000			0.0000	1.0000		
Total		0.2190	2'623.7	.000 (169 d.f.)	1.0000	1.0000		

Table B.7: Summary (Correspondence Analysis)

	Row	Mass	Score in Dim.		Inertia	Contribution of ...				
						... Point to Inertia of Dim.		... Dim. to Inertia of Point		
			1	2		1	2	1	2	Total
US 08	**ABC**	0.0522	0.5275	0.6545	0.0127	0.0412	0.0914	0.4031	0.4311	0.8341
	NBC	0.0616	0.3652	0.9691	0.0203	0.0233	0.2365	0.1422	0.6954	0.8376
	CNN	0.0832	-0.0926	0.2530	0.0067	0.0020	0.0218	0.0373	0.1939	0.2312
	FOX	0.1052	-0.3750	0.0418	0.0105	0.0421	0.0008	0.4962	0.0043	0.5005
UK 10	**BBC1**	0.0949	0.5306	0.0206	0.0146	0.0759	0.0002	0.6448	0.0007	0.6455
	ITV1	0.1168	0.2905	0.4956	0.0122	0.0280	0.1173	0.2836	0.5735	0.8572
CH 11	**Tagesschau**	0.0106	0.2133	-0.1402	0.0032	0.0014	0.0009	0.0523	0.0157	0.0680
	10v10	0.0093	0.1488	-0.1042	0.0012	0.0006	0.0004	0.0586	0.0200	0.0785
DE 09	**ARD**	0.0183	0.0006	0.5151	0.0028	0.0000	0.0198	0.0000	0.4224	0.4224
	RTL	0.0212	0.3194	0.0275	0.0019	0.0061	0.0001	0.3999	0.0021	0.4020
FR 07	**TF1**	0.1092	-0.9537	-0.1475	0.0379	0.2821	0.0097	0.9228	0.0153	0.9382
	F2	0.1327	-0.8547	-0.2139	0.0363	0.2754	0.0248	0.9401	0.0409	0.9810
IT 08	**RAI**	0.1074	0.6233	-0.6035	0.0246	0.1186	0.1600	0.5973	0.3891	0.9864
	Canale5	0.0774	0.6852	-1.0000	0.0340	0.1032	0.3164	0.3764	0.5569	0.9333
	Active Total	1.0000			0.2190	1.0000	1.0000			

Dimension 1: Topics; Dimension 2: Dominant Voice
Symmetrical Normalization

Table B.8: Overview Row Points (Correspondence Analysis)

	Column	Mass	Score in Dim.		Inertia	Contribution of . . .				
						. . . Point to Inertia of Dim.		. . . Dim. to Inertia of Point		
			1	2		1	2	1	2	Total
Meta Frames	**Media Conduit**	0.0473	-1.2187	-0.0277	0.0252	0.1997	0.0001	0.9811	0.0004	0.9814
	Media Strategy	0.0035	-0.1285	0.0614	0.0040	0.0002	0.0001	0.0051	0.0008	0.0060
	Publicity Conduit	0.0120	0.1973	-1.3377	0.0081	0.0013	0.0879	0.0203	0.6488	0.6691
	Publicity Strategy	0.0244	-1.5674	-0.0970	0.0227	0.1701	0.0009	0.9274	0.0025	0.9298
Meta & SB Topics	**Policy & Polity Topic**	0.0643	0.0663	-0.3838	0.0095	0.0008	0.0388	0.0105	0.2440	0.2545
	Process & Pers. Topic	0.1123	-0.3992	-0.0730	0.0093	0.0509	0.0025	0.6810	0.0158	0.6969
	Both Meta Topics	0.0161	-1.7025	-0.2402	0.0173	0.1327	0.0038	0.9512	0.0132	0.9644
	Any Meta Topic	0.0709	-0.9316	-0.2120	0.0229	0.1747	0.0130	0.9459	0.0340	0.9799
	SB Content: Issue	0.0705	0.5441	-0.5956	0.0162	0.0593	0.1023	0.4542	0.3782	0.8324
SB Length	**Short Cand. SB**	0.0689	0.2310	1.0814	0.0249	0.0105	0.3297	0.0520	0.7918	0.8438
	Medium Cand. SB	0.0582	0.3178	-0.1506	0.0042	0.0167	0.0054	0.4866	0.0759	0.5626
	Long Cand. SB	0.0626	0.6561	-0.9248	0.0240	0.0766	0.2189	0.3959	0.5466	0.9425
SB Type	**Journ. Message**	0.1992	0.1940	0.4896	0.0189	0.0213	0.1953	0.1397	0.6181	0.7578
	Cand. Seen & Heard	0.1897	0.3979	0.0417	0.0119	0.0853	0.0013	0.8893	0.0068	0.8960
	Active Total	1.0000			0.2190	1.0000	1.0000			

Dimension 1: Topics; Dimension 2: Dominant Voice
Symmetrical Normalization

Table B.9: Overview Column Points (Correspondence Analysis)

sults (e.g., Figure IV.27, p. 160). For example, ABC has a value of 0.5275 on the first and 0.6545 on the second dimension. Furthermore, the *masses* are parameters that are explained already: They are row or column percentages and thus represent the share of a case or a variable in all statements: 5.22% of all coded statements have occurred in the ABC newscasts. Finally, there are two types of *"contributions"*: The contribution of the specific point to the inertia of the dimension, as well as the contribution of the specific dimension to the inertia of the point. The former is a relative inertia that is calculated by dividing the inertia of the case (or variable) by the singular value of the specific dimension. It shows the cases and variables that are typical for a dimension, i.e., the cases and variables that actually form the dimension. The latter shows the share of a dimension in the inertia of the point. These values show which dimension(s) represent(s) the data point (i.e., the case or variable) best. The "total" of the contribution of the dimension to the inertia of the point is simply the sum of the shares of the single dimensions. Consequentially, these parameters help to interpret the dimensions that are particularly important for the single cases and variables, as well as the features that form the single dimensions.

B.2.1.2 Cluster Analysis

Since correspondence analysis identifies the coordinates of the typology that the researcher is looking for, it can only deliver parameters that show the dimensionality of the typology. However, since different "types" are clearly visible in the two-dimensional space (see Figure IV.29, p. 164), a parameter representing how *"close"* each case is located to each *"center"* has to be found. Cluster analysis is perfect for this kind of application, in fact conducting a cluster analysis downstream of factor analyses (e.g., Ciampi et al., 2005) is a common process. The idea is compelling and simple: Correspondence analysis (or factor analysis) reduces the number of variables to fewer dimensions, while the cluster analysis subsequently groups the cases accord-

ing to the dimensions identified in the previous step.

As cluster analysis is much more common and well-known than correspondence analysis, only the most important methodological steps are explained briefly. As with correspondence analysis, cluster analysis generally follows *three methodological steps* (cf. Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 681-682): (1) A parameter of proximity (either measuring distance or similarity) has to be chosen, (2), a clustering algorithm must then be picked and (3), the number of clusters to be identified needs to be determined. Depending on the goal of the cluster analysis (e.g., forming a typology of several homogeneous groups of cases vs. identifying outliers) as well as the scales of measurement (categorical, metric, etc.), different parameters of proximity and clustering algorithms are chosen (for an overview of the parameters and algorithms, see Figures 8.5 and 8.22 in Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 483, p. 499). There are two basic ways of conducting cluster analyses: Hierarchical vs. partitioning methods. The former pairwisely compare each case with each other, while the latter start with an arbitrary grouping of the cases and subsequently improve the solution in iterative steps. Partitioning methods are originally developed to be able to process vast samples (ca. $N > 2000$), as the paired comparisons between all cases overload even modern computer programs (as the sample size becomes too large). Resolving the desired number of clusters in advance is a "trick" that greatly simplifies the computation. Usually, several solutions (with different numbers of clusters) have to be calculated and compared on the grounds of theoretical plausibility with regard to the cluster centers, equality between the sizes of the clusters and interpretability of the grouping of cases. The most common partitioning method is called *"k-means clustering"*. As the visualization of an appropriate correspondence analysis shows how many distinct "groups" of cases are present, a direct determination of the number of clusters using k-means cluster analysis is definitely preferable to hierarchical methods of cluster analysis in this particular instance (as mentioned, please consult Backhaus et al., 2003,

p. 499-501 for an overview of the different algorithms). The fact that the desired number of clusters is clearly identifiable in the visualization of the correspondence analysis (for this study, see Figure IV.29, p. 164) greatly reduces the slight aspect of arbitrariness (i.e., the researcher computes several solutions and chooses the one that "works" best) that partitioning clustering methods necessitate.

K-means clustering is a simple method. Firstly, all variables need to be z-standardized. *Euclidean distances* based on these z-values are then used as measure of distance. The a priori determined number of cluster centers is then randomly located in the space and all elements (cases) are assigned to the cluster center to which they are closest (i.e., to which they show the lowest Euclidean distance). However, the centers are now not in the actual center of the cases that have been assigned to each cluster, so the algorithm re-assigns each case to the cluster center to which it is closest. Then, the actual cluster centers of the cases assigned to each cluster is calculated again – and so on, iterating this process until no cases change the clusters anymore and thus the solution cannot be improved any further. See Backhaus et al. (2003, p. 500-501) for a more detailed description of this procedure.

All relevant data referring to the cluster analysis are found in Table B.10 on p. 281. In this study, only two variables are entered into the cluster analysis: The two dimensions identified in the correspondence analysis. To do so, the coordinates resulting from the correspondence are z-standardized first. Z-standardization shifts a distribution of data towards the mean so that the mean is always set to zero, while a unit of standard deviation is compressed to a value of one. Values can thus be directly interpreted in terms of being above- or below-average (positive or negative co-domain) and in terms of units of standard deviation. For example, ABC is located approximately 0.83 standard deviations above the average of the first dimension. The formula is:

$$z_i = \frac{x_i - \bar{x}}{s}. \tag{B.14}$$

Country & Channel		Cluster (Type of Reporting Style)	Reporting Style Dimensions		Reporting Style Types (Cluster Distances)		
			Dimension 1: Topics	**Dimension 2: Dominant Voice**	**Distance 1: Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting**	**Distance 2: Journalist-Centered Process Reporting**	**Distance 3: Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting**
US 08	ABC	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.8269	1.1775	2.2038	0.6702	2.8599
	NBC	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.5105	1.7966	2.8142	1.0934	2.9951
	CNN	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	-0.3785	0.3894	1.7195	0.7900	1.4209
	FOX	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-0.9259	-0.0253	1.8297	1.4677	0.7449
UK 10	BBC1	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.8328	-0.0665	0.9745	0.9249	2.4567
	ITV1	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.3669	0.8670	1.8987	0.1528	2.3055
CH 11	Tagesschau	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	0.2155	-0.3830	0.7470	1.1065	1.8278
	10v10	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	0.0912	-0.3122	0.8756	1.0585	1.7024
DE 09	ARD	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	-0.1961	0.9043	2.0834	0.5685	1.8695
	RTL	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.4212	-0.0528	0.9818	0.7735	2.0495
FR 07	TF1	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-2.0498	-0.3987	2.7329	2.6377	0.4462
	F2	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-1.8577	-0.5284	2.5177	2.5262	0.3245
IT 08	RAI	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	1.0113	-1.2949	0.4868	2.1203	2.7987
	Canale5	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	1.1317	-2.0731	1.1780	2.8996	3.2566
Cluster Center 1		Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	0.6124	-1.0158			
Cluster Center 2		Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.3405	0.7165			
Cluster Center 3		Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-1.6111	-0.3174			
Type of Data			Z-Values		Euclidean Distances		

Table B.10: Cluster Analysis Data

Euclidean distances are calculated using the Pythagorean theorem. The theorem holds true for any number of dimensions, not only for two (as Pythagoras formulated it originally) and it can therefore be applied to any cluster solution, even if there are more dimensions (i.e., input variables) than two. Most statistical computer programs only compute the Euclidean distance of a case to its *own* cluster. However, since the goal in this study is to provide a parameter for *each* model of the discovered typology, distances to all cluster centers have to be calculated for all cases. Using the Pythagorean theorem, it is no problem whatsoever to compute these Euclidean distances.[83] The formulae for Euclidean distances between the *point of origin* and *point A* as well as the distance between *points A* and *B* are:

$$d_{(\text{Point of Origin, A})} = \sqrt{x_A^2 + y_A^2} \tag{B.15}$$

and

$$d_{(\text{A, B})} = \sqrt{(x_A - x_B)^2 + (y_A - y_B)^2}. \tag{B.16}$$

K-means cluster analysis usually results in two parameters: The *cluster centers*, which are equivalent to the arithmetic mean of the input variables, calculated for each cluster and the Euclidean *distance* of each case to its own cluster (both parameters are z-values). In Table B.10 on p. 281, this information is shown in the column "cluster" (showing that each case belongs to a certain cluster) and in the columns with the two dimensions all the way to the bottom of the table ("cluster center").

Regarding *reading examples*, the first cluster shows an x-coordinate of 0.6124 units of standard deviation above the average of x, while its y-coordinate is approximately one unit of standard deviation below the average of y (-1.0158). The first cluster center is thus located in the bottom

[83] Most likely, statistical programs usually omit this parameter for two reasons: Firstly (1), the distance of each case just to its own cluster center requires only one variable; Secondly (2), the distances can be confusing: It is possible that cases not belonging to a cluster are more proximate to that center than cases that actually belong to the respective cluster. Also see footnote 101 (p. 297) for a discussion of this issue with regard to cluster distances.

right-hand space of an XY plot. The coordinates of all individual cases can be read accordingly. Finally, the following serves as a reading example for the Euclidean distances between cases and cluster centers: ABC is positioned 2.2038 units of standard deviations apart from the first cluster (high distance), while it is relatively close to the second cluster (0.6702 units of standard deviation). These three distances of each case to each cluster center are the variables that show how strongly a case corresponds to a model of the typology. In the final step of the main analysis, they are treated as outcome (explanandum) in three distinct QCAs in order to explain how each model coincides with contextual factors (explanans). For a detailed description of the design of the analysis, please see section III.3 (p. 93).

B.2.1.3 Factor Analysis Cross-Validation

Finally, this section briefly describes a procedure intended to cross-validate the results found by the correspondence- and cluster analysis. Factor analysis is much more commonly used than correspondence analysis to extract dimensions from initial data. However, factor analysis is not suited to categorical data (usually the majority of variables present in content analyses), and dummy variables frequently produce unacceptable results regarding the suitability of data for factor analysis (such as the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin criterion, or "KMO" and the Bartlett test, also called "test of sphericity", e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 274-277). Also, the preconditions for factor analysis regarding the sample size and number of variables is rather strict: It is usually estimated that factor analysis should not be calculated with samples showing $N < 50$ cases and that it should not process more than a third the number of conditions compared to the number of cases. In other words, this study is not at all suitable for factor analysis and thus uses correspondence analysis instead. Unlike the previous documentation of the correspondence- and cluster analysis and the QCA, not all methodological foundations and

formulae of factor analysis are discussed, but the exact implementation of this analysis is reported instead.[84]

The data for the factor analysis is not aggregated in the same way as the data for the correspondence analysis. In order to offset the problem with initial categorical data, the aggregation is not completed using simple counting of occurrences (as with the correspondence analysis), but rather using relative frequencies (i.e., means of the original statement-level dummy variables rather than totals per channel). These relative frequencies are further z-standardized (see equation B.14, p. 280) before being processed by the factor analysis.[85] The data structure processed by the analyses is therefore slightly different. Secondly, the issue with low numbers of cases, but high numbers of variables persists. The only option to rectify this problem is to reduce the number of variables. The variables used in the factor analysis could eventually be reduced to the following five variables: 'Policy & polity topics', 'process & personality topics', 'any meta-coverage topic', 'content of candidate soundbite: Issues' and the average 'candidate soundbite length' (in sec.). While the number of cases is too low anyway ($N = 14$), the criterion of not processing (much) more than a third of the number of variables compared to the number of cases is thus achieved. Principal Component Analysis is applied, which is able to reproduce the data structure as extensively as possible (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 291-292); furthermore, Varimax rotation is used to preserve statistical independence between the identified dimensions (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 300-301). These two processes coincide best with the logic of correspondence analysis. Both the KMO ($KMO = 0.689$) as well as the

[84] To keep it simple and concise, the detailed data of the factor analysis is also not reported in the text. Please refer to the digital appendix (referenced in section D, p. 332) for the relevant data file. However, the (z-standardized) factor scores ("typology dimensions") used to calculate the consecutive cluster analysis as well as the resulting Euclidean distances to the respective cluster centers ("typology models") are shown in Table B.12 (p. 287). Its structure is analogous to Table B.10 (p. 281), showing the respective values for the main cluster analysis.

[85] The data need to be z-standardized because the average 'candidate soundbite length' has a different scale than the rest of the data.

Initial Variable	Communalities	Rotated Factor Loadings	
		Topic Dimension	Dominant Voice Dimension
Policy & Polity Topic	0.825	-0.766	0.488
Process & Pers. Topic	0.869	0.922	
Any Meta Topic	0.742	0.860	
Soundbite Content: Issues	0.863		0.905
Candidate SB Length (sec.)	0.864		0.926

Table B.11: Factor Loadings and Communalities (Cross-Validation)

Bartlett test ($p < .01$) indicate that the data are suitable for factor analysis (the values are not marvelous, but perfectly acceptable).

Both the Kaiser criterion as well as the scree plot (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2003, p. 295-297) indicate that two dimensions need to be extracted, just as with the correspondence analysis. So, the number of dimensions extracted can be considered cross-validated. Table B.11 (p. 285) shows the communalities (after extracting the factors) as well as the (rotated) factor loadings (absolute values lower than 0.3 are not shown in the table). The communalities are high enough, thus confirming again that the solution is sound. The two factors found are equivalent to the correspondence analysis dimensions (although numerically, they point in the opposite direction): The first dimension represents the topic structure, while the second refers to the journalistic interventionism.[86] The two dimensions together explain a cumulated 83.28% of the total variance.

The next step is to save the factor scores for each case (i.e., TV channel) into the data set. As in the original calculations using correspondence- and cluster analysis, these scores are then processed by *k-means cluster-*

[86] However, there is a striking difference in the identified dimensionality between the correspondence analysis and the factor scores: The factor analysis dimensions align much more consistently along the two different projects than the correspondence analysis dimensions, pointing towards the possibility of methodological artifacts with the factor analysis (also see footnote 56, p. 157). On the other hand, the – usually undesirable – fact that the 'policy & polity topics' also show minimal loadings on the interventionism dimension indicates some dimensionality beyond the original projects. The labelling of the end points of the dimensions is thus slightly adapted in Figure IV.33 (p. 178).

ing (also rendering three clusters). Again, cluster distances from each case to each cluster center are calculated using Euclidean distances (see equations B.15 and B.16, p. 282 and 282). All factor scores ("typology dimensions") and cluster distances ("typology models") calculated within the scope of the factor analysis cross-validation are reported in Table B.12 (p. 287).[87] The results clearly confirm the main analysis in several ways. Most notably, there is only one case that shifts to another reporting style:[88] CNN, which is assigned to the style of 'journalist-centered process reporting' in correspondence- and cluster analysis, shifts to 'campaign-centered meta reporting' in the cross-validation. There are also some slight shifts regarding which cases can be considered typical, hybrid and extreme cases, but (except for CNN) none of these shifts constitute different classification in this cross-validation (see Figure IV.33, p. 178 and the respective descriptions). Moreover, bivariate correlations showing the agreement between each dimension, or each type of the typology as they are calculated either by the correspondence- and cluster analysis or the factor and cluster analysis confirm that the results are strikingly similar.[89] The topic dimension shows a strong and significant correlation of $r = -0.685$ ($p < .01$),[90] while the interventionism dimensions are even more similar to each other ($r = -0.871, p < .01$). Similarly, the classification of each case to each cluster ("cluster distance") is particularly congruent, as indicated by the correlations between the two ways to calculate the cluster distances. For candidate-centered issue reporting, the bivariate correlation is $r = 0.613$ $p < .05$ while for journalist-centered process reporting, the values show a slightly higher

[87] For improved readability and particularly in order to simplify the visual comparison of the two figures, the factor scores reported in Table B.12 (p. 287) and used to build Figure IV.33 (p. 178) have been inverted. Simple mirroring along the zero point is achieved by multiplying by minus one.

[88] For a discussion on the implications of cluster memberships and cluster distances, please see footnote 60 (p. 166).

[89] Note that these values have been calculated using only $N = 14$ cases. While they must thus be treated with caution, the levels of significance are even more impressive.

[90] NB: These two correlations are negative because they have been calculated with the originally identified, non-inverted factor scores. The inversion would only change the algebraic sign ("direction") of the correlation and none of the values themselves.

Country & Channel		Cluster (Type of Reporting Style)	Reporting Style Dimensions		Reporting Style Types (Cluster Distances)		
			Dimension 1: Topics	Dimension 2: Dominant Voice	Distance 1: Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	Distance 2: Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	Distance 3: Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting
US 08	ABC	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	-0.2093	0.4488	1.7944	0.7890	0.9944
	NBC	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.0576	1.2893	2.5574	0.6675	1.7046
	CNN	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	-1.3883	0.1879	2.2728	1.9838	0.2914
	FOX	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-1.0380	0.4646	2.2194	1.5739	0.4119
UK 10	BBC1	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	2.3206	0.3640	2.5285	1.8684	3.4592
	ITV1	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.5613	0.7489	2.0064	0.0730	1.8212
CH 11	Tagesschau	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	0.6628	-0.9645	0.4058	1.7629	2.0620
	10v10	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	-0.3302	-1.1343	0.7124	2.0973	1.4365
DE 09	ARD	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.0178	1.6010	2.8717	0.9435	1.9171
	RTL	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.2618	0.2938	1.5464	0.5520	1.4065
FR 07	TF1	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-0.9117	0.0078	1.7969	1.6158	0.2205
	F2	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-1.1637	-0.4119	1.7497	2.0543	0.4755
IT 08	RAI	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	1.2014	-0.7536	0.9650	1.6957	2.4657
	Canale5	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	-0.0421	-2.1418	0.9850	2.9828	2.4558
Cluster Center 1		Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	0.3730	-1.2486			
Cluster Center 2		Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	0.5016	0.7910			
Cluster Center 3		Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	-1.1254	0.0621			
Type of Data			Factor Scores		Euclidean Distances		

Table B.12: Dimensions and Types (Factor Analysis Cross-Validation)

agreement between the two calculations ($r = 0.691$ $p < .01$). Finally, the distances for campaign-centered meta reporting show the strongest correlation ($r = 0.717$ $p < .01$). These results clearly demonstrate the robustness of the main analysis. For further interpretations and comparisons, please see the discussion in section IV.2.3.2 (p. 177) and particularly Figure IV.33 (p. 178).

B.2.2 Documentation of the QCA

Finally, chapter B.2.2 explains the basic operations of Qualitative Comparative Analysis. Since QCA is a *set theoretic method*, it does not operate on the basis of linear algebra and variables, but rather the principles of Boolean algebra and sets. While concepts are traditionally represented by measured properties, set theory describes cases on the basis of set memberships to determine whether a case can be characterized by a concept or not (cf. Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 24). The resulting mode of thinking is fundamentally different between the two different approaches. The nomenclature of set theory consequentially terms the explanans "condition" and the explanandum "outcome" to distinguish itself from statistical procedures. Thus, QCA should be used when the objects of interest and theses on their relations correspond to set theoretic thinking. Following Berg-Schlosser et al. (2009), genuine aims of QCA include data summarization, tests for coherence regarding subset and superset relations, hypothesis testing and the development of new hypotheses and theories as well as typology building (also see Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 399-400). Of course, there are other methods that can produce some or all of these aims: It is therefore important that the set theoretic logic is both appropriate and applicable for a concrete analysis. For detailed explanations of the method, please consult Schneider & Wagemann (2013, 2007) and Ragin (2008). The principles of QCA (e.g., Wagemann & Schneider, 2010) can be demonstrated in three steps: Firstly, variables need to be *calibrated* into sets (1); secondly, several

sets show *set relations* among each other and there are "parameters of fit" that describe these set relations; and finally (3), set relations are identified using *"truth tables"*, observing "logical remainders" and "limited diversity". The following subsections follow this pattern.

B.2.2.1 Sets, Membership and Calibration

Boolean algebra is based on *sets rather than variables*. This has key implications for the wording and processing of conditions. In the following section, "sets" and the meaning of "set membership" are explained. In addition, the "transformation" (calibratation) of variables into sets is discussed along with the documentation of the actual calibration of the data in this study.

Sets and Set Membership In Boolean algebra, *sets* are the principal operands of all procedures. The values of sets are membership scores, notionally they are the truth values "true" (t) and "false" (f), indicating whether a case is a member or a set or not. On first sight, sets seem only able to assume binary values: A case is either a member of the set or not (as indicated by the two truth values "t" and "f").[91] During its initial phase[92] when QCA was establishing itself in the late 1980s and early 1990s, researchers only have these binary *"crisp sets"* at their disposal (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 24). However, social scientists using set theoretic methods become increasingly aware of developments in mathematical and engineering circles, discussing the concept of *"fuzzy sets"*. For example, washing machines use fuzzy sets to detect whether laundry is still wet. Fuzzy sets are introduced independently by Klaua (1965) and Zadeh (1965) in order to allow graded set membership scores.[93] At the turn of the millennium, Ragin (2000) transferred the concept to social sciences.

[91] Researchers often use the numeric values "1" and "0" to denominate the truth values.

[92] The set theoretic approach was transferred from the spheres of mathematical and natural science to social science by Ragin (1987).

[93] See also S. Gottwald (2010) for a recent paper discussing the early achievements of the former author.

Fuzzy sets take on values between 0 and 1, but they are not linear. Since they still designate set membership, a qualitative "anchor point" is set at the threshold with a value of 0.5, which denominates non-members with values between 0 and 0.5 and members with values between 0.5 and 1 (for an extensive discussion of fuzzy sets, cf. e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 27-30). This means that the range between 0.5 and 1 (respectively 0 and 0.5) grades the amount of (non-)membership: A case showing a fuzzy set value of 0.3 on a set is "more" of a member than a case showing a value of 0.1 on the same set – but they are both "outside" (non-members) of the set. Only cases with values above 0.5 actually "belong" to the set.[94] However, the actual truth values need to be assigned to each case – a process called "calibration".

Calibration Calibration is the process of transforming variables or qualitative observations into crisp- or fuzzy sets (cf. Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 32-38). To do so, a *qualitative anchor* indicating the *threshold* of membership (also called the "point of maximum indifference about membership vs. non-membership") has to be determined (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 32). Crossing this threshold signifies a *qualitative difference*, which goes beyond a mere increase in quantity. While many social scientists frown upon such seemingly "arbitrary" data transformations, calibrated data is used widely both in everyday use as well as many natural and technical sciences: Ragin (2008, p. 72-73; also see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 30) uses the example of "temperature" measured in "degree Celsius" (°C). Its anchor points, 0 °C and 100 °C, signify the points at which the state of water changes qualitatively: It converts to ice below 0 °C and to vapor above 100 °C. Thus, a 10 °C increase from −5 °C to 5 °C implies that a qualitative difference is crossed ("becoming a member of the set of *liquid* H_2O"), while an increase, e.g., from 20 °C to 30 °C does

[94] This also means that an increase from 0.1 to 0.3 is qualitatively not the same as an increase from 0.4 to 0.6 - despite the same fuzzy value difference of 0.2. In the latter instance, the qualitative anchor has been crossed, but not in the former. In other words: Fuzzy sets are neither metric, nor linear scales.

not. Linear, metric scales are by definition not able to display this kind of information. This qualitative anchor is also the "qualitative" aspect about QCA, both in the pragmatic implementation of the analytical procedure (i.e., calibration) as well as the much more far-reaching implications[95] this has for epistemology.

In any instance, calibration must rely on the researcher's theoretical knowledge and empirical evidence from the cases under investigation (e.g., Ragin, 2008, p. 86). This knowledge and its empirical evidence can vary: Occasionally, an obvious fact needs no further justification. E.g., in this study, calibrating 'public TV channel' is indisputable. However, social science concepts are not usually as clear cut. Thus, researchers should always transparently document the calibration and justify the qualitative anchor points based on empirical and theoretical case knowledge (for the significance of documenting the calibration, see Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 403).

Direct and Indirect Method There are two different calibration methods, the "direct" and "indirect" method (Ragin, 2008, p. 85-105; also see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 35-37). The *direct method* utilizes a logistic function to assign fuzzy set values between the anchor points of 0 (full non-membership), 0.5 (point of indifference) and 1 (full membership).[96] This method assumes the presence of a quantified measure that can be used for this. The scientist indicates the three anchor points on the original scale and the logistic function converts the values of all cases to fuzzy sets.

[95] It can be argued that the objects of social science, or any theories formulated by language (as opposed to pure formulae), almost invariably conform to this type of qualitative scale (e.g., Ragin, 2008, p. 103-104): There is a point at which the object changes its state and this point is not directly identifiable in quantitative measurement. For example, the average daily TV consumption is frequently used to assess whether a media system is "TV-centric" (e.g., Norris, 2000); but where is the anchor that differentiates countries between systems that are TV-centric and those that are not? Researchers often "intuitively" draw lines and boundaries into graphs (case in point, Norris, 2000, p. 86) to mark the qualitative anchors; however, this is usually not explicitly discussed, let alone considered epistemologically.

[96] For technical reasons, the actual (non-)membership anchors used are 0.05 and 0.95.

Since it is a logistic function, this will result in a ceiling effect for outliers[97] towards both ends of the scale. This fact is an advantage: In the logic of set theory, there is little gain from adding further extreme outliers to a sample that only add more variation, but do not make any further qualitative difference – they are simply (full) members of the respective set. In linear algebra, such extreme outliers would both severely distort the arithmetic mean and simulate high variation.

In contrast, the *indirect method* requires the cases to be grouped into arbitrary fuzzy set scores: The researcher determines which cases should receive a value of 1, 0.8, 0.6, and so on (e.g., Ragin, 2008, p. 85).[98] Both the direct and indirect methods utilize case knowledge to justify the calibration. Tempting as it is, researchers should never calibrate their data "mechanically" if metric variables are present (e.g., simply using the arithmetic mean or median as anchor points for all sets): The resulting fuzzy sets should always meaningfully represent the actual grouping of cases intended with a concept (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 40; Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 403; Ragin, 2008, p. 103-104). However, some data "clues" can be helpful, for example, large "gaps" in the data can serve as an indicator for the position of the point of indifference. Furthermore, if a procedure (such as a cluster analysis) already produces a certain grouping, the respective classification can also serve as a valid starting point.

Original Data For this study, Table B.13 on p. 295 shows the original data, while the calibrated data are presented in Table B.14 on p. 296.

[97] The analysis of the occurrence and *absence* of an outcome must therefore always be conducted separately: Unless there are no logical remainders (see chapter B.2.2.3), the solutions cannot be inferred by simply applying De Morgan's law (for De Morgan's law, e.g., Klir et al., 1997, p. 37; regarding the separate treatment of the presence and absence of a set, see Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 408-409). Furthermore, the ceiling effect for the outliers generates differents calibration of the absence and presence of an outcome: Ragin (2008, p. 90-94) uses the example of GDP per capita and the calibration of developed and less developed countries, which does not result simply in the inverse allocation of cases.

[98] Contrary to Ragin (2008, p. 85) and Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 35), the author argues that the indirect method can take on any number of values from two upwards and is thus applicable to crisp sets.

The former table additionally signifies the data type of the original variables, while the latter indicates the fuzzy set thresholds and labels. For all definitions and operationalizations, see chapter III (starting on p. 63). Regarding the original variables (see Table B.13), there are basically three data sources: (1) The three outcome variables that signify the three models of reporting styles are Euclidean distances of z-values, consequently they can be interpreted in terms of units of standard deviation (although only absolute values remain when applying the Pythagorean theorem, cf. equation B.16 on p. 282). However, these are measures of distance, i.e., high values signify a large distance to (and thus, in set theoretic terms, non-membership of) each cluster. They are derived from the results of the correspondence analysis. The original variables integrated in the correspondence analysis all stem from the content analysis and are based on raw frequencies (see Table B.1, p. 263). (2) Secondly, two further variables from the content analysis are used in the final step of the analysis: The 'control of the communication situation' and the 'connection of a meta frame to the left candidate'. Unlike the raw frequencies shown in Table B.1, the values displayed here (and used for the QCA, factor analysis and descriptives) are shares: E.g., 69% of all candidate soundbites occurring in ABC newscasts during the election campaign showed highly controlled communication situations. Finally (3), there is a range of secondary data from various sources on different levels of the analysis: On the level of TV channels, there are the crisp sets designating 'public channels' (in Europe) and 'broadcast channels' (in the US: ABC and NBC). As only a moderate number of conditions should be used in QCA (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 402), these two crisp sets were combined using an OR function (see equation B.19, p. 305) so that the set designates either public channels in Europe or broadcast channels in the US (where no public channels are present in the sample). Furthermore, on country level, there are some context variables: Firstly, a range of indicators signifying the respective media systems is used (see Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Brüggemann

et al., 2014; Büchel et al., 2016). And secondly, the cost of each national campaign as an indicator of campaign commercialization is applied.

All conditions of the QCA are discussed and justified in the main text: Section II.3 (p. 28) introduces the general idea of cross-country comparative research and the relevance of contextual factors in such an undertaking, while the precise implementation of the design of the explanatory analysis is presented in section II.5.2 (p. 54) with regard to theoretical considerations. Methodologically, the operationalization of the contextual factors is reported in section III.1.3 (p. 76), while the general design of the (exploratory as well as explanatory) analysis is laid out in section III.3.3 (p. 100 and specifically Figure III.5, p. 101).

Documentation of the Calibration As mentioned, the calibrated data[99] is shown in Table B.14 (p. 296), along with the anchor point thresholds (in top down order: 0.95 / 0.5 / 0.05) and the fuzzy set labels.[100] These labels are a useful addition to the column labels because they can change after calibration: While variables do not need qualitative qualifiers, set labels often demand the addition of an adjective. For example, take the 'relative cost of the campaign': This label cannot term a set, there is no set of 'cost', as that is just a linear measurement of a property (and not a description of cases). What we are actually calibrating with this variable is the set of 'expensive campaigns', i.e., the set of election campaigns that cost a great deal of money. The variables, such as the three cluster types or the media systems, that actually designate "sets" (simply meaning "groups of cases"), stay the same.

The three *outcome* sets denominating the three reporting styles must first be calibrated (see Figures IV.30, IV.31 and IV.32 on p. 168, 170 and 172 for bar charts of the cluster distances). As mentioned, these cluster

[99] In the study at hand, the direct method of calibration is used exclusively (except for the crisp set 'public or broadcast channel').

[100] All steps of calibration and QCA were calculated using the free *fsQCA* software (see Ragin et al., 2006).

Country & Channel		Cluster Analysis (Outcome)			Content Analysis			Context Data					
		Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	Candidate Connection: Left	Control of Communication Situation	Cost of Campaign by GDP	Press-Oriented Media System	Corporatist Media System	Liberal Media System	Polarized-Pluralist Media System	Press. or Corp. Media System	Public or Broadcast Channel
US 08	ABC	2.20	0.67	2.86	0.40	0.69	0.12	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	1.00
	NBC	2.81	1.09	3.00	0.27	0.88	0.12	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	1.00
	CNN	1.72	0.79	1.42	0.27	0.90	0.12	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	0.00
	FOX	1.83	1.47	0.74	0.39	0.85	0.12	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	0.00
UK 10	BBC1	0.97	0.92	2.46	0.31	0.27	0.02	0.30	0.80	0.03	0.20	0.80	1.00
	ITV1	1.90	0.15	2.31	0.26	0.22	0.02	0.30	0.80	0.03	0.20	0.80	0.00
CH 11	Tagesschau	0.75	1.11	1.83	0.17	0.00	0.05	0.71	0.71	0.03	0.03	0.71	1.00
	10v10	0.88	1.06	1.70	0.22	0.00	0.05	0.71	0.71	0.03	0.03	0.71	1.00
DE 09	ARD	2.08	0.57	1.87	0.19	0.33	0.02	0.68	0.68	0.02	0.05	0.68	1.00
	RTL	0.98	0.77	2.05	0.12	0.51	0.02	0.68	0.68	0.02	0.05	0.68	0.00
FR 07	TF1	2.73	2.64	0.45	0.37	0.32	0.03	0.06	0.36	0.03	0.64	0.36	0.00
	F2	2.52	2.53	0.32	0.31	0.28	0.03	0.06	0.36	0.03	0.64	0.36	1.00
IT 08	RAI1	0.49	2.12	2.80	0.43	0.38	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.84	0.07	1.00
	Canale5	1.18	2.90	3.26	0.38	0.32	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.84	0.07	0.00
Type of Data		Euclidean Distances			Content Analysis (%)			Secondary Data					

Table B.13: Original QCA Data

Country & Channel		Cluster Analysis (Outcome)			Content Analysis			Context Data					
		Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	**Journalist-Centered Process Reporting**	**Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting**	**Candidate Connection: Left**	**Control of Communication Situation**	**Cost of Campaign by GDP**	**Press-Oriented Media System**	**Corporatist Media System**	**Liberal Media System**	**Polarized-Pluralist Media System**	**Press. or Corp. Media System**	**Public or Broadcast Channel**
US 08	ABC	0.06	0.83	0.03	1.00	0.90	1.00	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	1.00
	NBC	0.01	0.58	0.02	0.29	0.97	1.00	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	1.00
	CNN	0.19	0.77	0.25	0.29	0.98	1.00	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	0.00
	FOX	0.15	0.35	0.65	1.00	0.97	1.00	0.02	0.02	0.72	0.02	0.02	0.00
UK 10	BBC1	0.73	0.70	0.05	0.65	0.12	0.04	0.30	0.80	0.03	0.20	0.80	1.00
	ITV1	0.13	0.96	0.07	0.23	0.06	0.04	0.30	0.80	0.03	0.20	0.80	0.00
CH 11	Tagesschau	0.87	0.57	0.14	0.02	0.00	0.73	0.71	0.71	0.03	0.03	0.71	1.00
	10v10	0.80	0.60	0.17	0.08	0.00	0.73	0.71	0.71	0.03	0.03	0.71	1.00
DE 09	ARD	0.08	0.87	0.13	0.04	0.26	0.04	0.68	0.68	0.02	0.05	0.68	1.00
	RTL	0.72	0.78	0.10	0.00	0.70	0.04	0.68	0.68	0.02	0.05	0.68	0.00
FR 07	TF1	0.02	0.03	0.97	0.99	0.23	0.23	0.06	0.36	0.03	0.64	0.36	0.00
	F2	0.03	0.04	0.99	0.65	0.14	0.23	0.06	0.36	0.03	0.64	0.36	1.00
IT 08	RAI1	0.95	0.11	0.03	1.00	0.43	0.70	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.84	0.07	1.00
	Canale5	0.52	0.02	0.01	0.99	0.23	0.70	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.84	0.07	0.00
Thresholds		.5 / 1.2 / 2.3	.2 / 1.2 / 2.5	.5 / .8 / 2.5	.35 / .3 / .2	.8 / .4 / .2	.08 / .04 / .02	**see Büchel et al., 2016**					Crisp Set
Fuzzy Set Label		Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting	Journalist-Centered Process Reporting	Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	Meta-Focus on Left Candidate	Controlled Campaign Communication	Expensive Campaign	Press-Oriented Media System	Corporatist Media System	Liberal Media System	Polarized-pluralist Media System	Press. or Corp. Media System	Public or Broadcast Channel

Table B.14: Calibrated QCA Data (Fuzzy Sets)

distances are measures of distance (as the name indicates) rather than similarity: Higher values mean greater distances from the respective cluster center, and thus less "membership" of the respective cluster. For the sake of simplicity, it would be desirable if it were the other way around: High values corresponding to high equivalence with the respective model of reporting style. It is extremely easy to invert this scale during calibration – simply choose the qualitative anchor thresholds accordingly. Furthermore, since the three different reporting styles result from cluster analysis, a grouping based on this is already present[101] and can serve as a supporting argument for the calibration.

Looking at Figures IV.29 and IV.30 (p. 164 and 168), NBC shows the lowest correspondence with *candidate-centered issue reporting* (i.e., it has the highest mesaure of distance), while RAI1 shows the highest. According to the cluster analysis, RAI1, Tagesschau, 10v10, and Canale5 are members of this cluster. Since there is also a significant "gap" in the data after Canale5 (see Figure IV.30, p. 168), with CNN (clearly not a member of this reporting style, according to Figure IV.29) slightly more than half a unit of standard deviation further away from the center than Canale5, this is a useful position for the point of indifference. Accordingly, the threshold for membership (i.e., a fuzzy value of 0.5) is set at 1.2. Furthermore, RAI1 is clearly the only case that is relatively close to the actual cluster center and deserves full membership of this set, consequently the threshold for full membership (i.e., a fuzzy value of 0.95) is set at 0.5. Finally, there is an eye-catching data gap between ABC and F2: Thus, a value of 2.3 is

[101] In Figures IV.30, IV.31 and IV.32 on p. 168, 170 and 172, black bars represent members of the respective cluster, while gray bars indicate non-members. It is immediately obvious that cases can still be cluster members even if they are further apart from the cluster center than other cases that are not cluster members (cf. the assumption in footnote 83, p. 282). For example, in Figure IV.30 on p. 168, BBC1 as well as RTL both are grouped into the cluster, but are closer to the cluster center than Canale5. Figure IV.29 on p. 164 shows neatly why this comes about: Canale5 is an extreme case of the first cluster, while BBC1 and RTL are border cases (also see the discussion in sections II.5.2 and III.3.2, p. 54 and 97). While cluster analysis does not allow multi-membership of cases in several clusters, QCA does. Of course, in this example, the BBC1 and RTL would consequently both classify as members in the set of TV channels showing the style of 'candidate-centered issue reporting'.

eventually used as the threshold for full non-membership (i.e., a fuzzy value of 0.05).

Moving on to *journalist-centered process reporting*, Figure IV.31 (p. 170) is useful when assessing case ranking: ITV1 has the least and Canale5 the greatest distance to this second cluster center. According to the grouping of cases from the cluster analysis (black bars in the bar chart), NBC is the case farthest from the cluster center but is still a member of the cluster (referring to Figure IV.29 on p. 164 reveals that NBC is an extreme case for this reporting style. Thus, NBC certainly should be a member of this set. However, NBC's distance to the cluster center is very similar to that of Tagesschau (a borderline case) – thus, Tagesschau needs to be included in the set as well. There is then a discernible "gap" in the data after the Swiss channel (cf. Figure IV.31), with FOX following on almost 0.4 units of standard deviation behind Tagesschau. Thus, the point of indifference is set between Tagesschau and FOX at 1.2, assigning the former to the set and leaving out the latter. As far as the thresholds for full (non-)membership are concerned, ITV1 is unambiguously the channel closest to the cluster center. It is therefore reasonable to set the threshold for full membership just after ITV1 at 0.2. Finally, the three cases belonging to the third cluster (French channels F2, TF1 and US-American FOX) form a group of cases which are a significant distance from the cluster center of journalist-centered process reporting, more than 2.5 units of standard deviation away from the center. The threshold for full non-membership is therefore set at 2.5.

The third and last outcome variable that needs to be calibrated is the reporting style of *campaign-centered meta reporting*. Again, Figures IV.32 and IV.29 on p. 172 and 164 assist in identifying the anchor points. Looking at the bar chart (Figure IV.32), the channel closest to and farthest away from the cluster center are F2 and Canale5 respectively. The grouping of the cluster analysis (F2, TF1 and FOX are included) concurs with the data "gap" in the variable: After FOX, CNN is almost 0.7 units of standard devi-

ation further away from the cluster, which is also the largest identifiable leap in this scale. Thus, the point of indifference is set at 0.8, cutting off CNN and all cases further away from the center. Regarding the members, FOX is slightly farter away from the cluster center than the two French channels and the threshold for full membership has therefore been set behind TF1 at 0.8. Finally, another slight divergence can be noted after RAI1, ABC, NBC and Canale5: All these cases are more than 2.5 units of standard deviation apart from the cluster center, therefore the anchor point for full non-membership has been set at 2.5.

As far as the explanatory conditions used to explain the three reporting styles are concerned, calibration is still required for two variables from the content analysis ('candidate connection of a meta frame: Left candidate' and 'control of communication situation') and one secondary context variable ('relative cost of campaign'). The media system conditions are already available in calibrated form as fuzzy sets because they were carried over directly from the study of Büchel et al. (2016) who already justify the calibration in great detail. The binary crisp set designating whether a TV channel is public (for European channels) or a broadcast channel (in the US) is an unambiguous grouping that needs no further justification.

Looking at the data for *meta connection to a left candidate*, RAI1 has the highest value (43% of all metascripts in RAI1 newscasts showing salient metatopics are connected to the left candidate; the other 57% show a connection to a center-right, several, or no candidates) and RTL the lowest (12% of all metascripts show a left connection).[102] There is hardly any consistent ranking across the countries in this variable, only the German-speaking channels (RTL, ARD, Tagesschau and 10v10) consistently show fewer metaframes than the other channels connected to any candidates, either left (RTL: 12%, ARD: 19%, Tagesschau: 17%, 10v10: 22%), or right

[102] Note that no bar charts for the explanatory conditions are presented in the text itself. However, they can be found in the digital appendix, see the explanations in section D (p. 332). The values are shown (as shares) in Table B.13, p. 295.

(RTL: 22%, ARD: 20%, Tagesschau: 20%, 10v10: 35%). These four channels are subsequently also have a large number of metascripts that are not connected to any candidate at all (RTL: 53%, ARD: 37%, Tagesschau: 44%, 10v10: 28%). At the other end of the spectrum, the Italian and French channels have a lot of meta connections to left- (RAI1: 43%, Canale5: 38%, F2: 31%, TF1: 37%) and right candidates (RAI1: 42%, Canale5: 45%, F2: 48%, TF1: 50%), as well as very few scripts connected to no candidates whatsoever (RAI1: 6%, Canale5: 4%, F2: 6%, TF1: 4%). It seems to be a feature of the liberal media system (see Hallin & Mancini, 2004) that there are no clear trends regarding this concept (refer to the discussion in section IV.1.2.3, p. 137; particularly Table IV.7 as well as Figures IV.22 and IV.23, p. 144, 146 and 147). A gap dividing the scale into these two groups is identifiable between CNN and NBC (both 27%) and F2 and BBC1 (both 31%): With the threshold for membership at this point in the scale, the French channels remain together in the set of channels focusing on left candidates, while F2 would be excluded from that set if the threshold were set at the other, slightly higher discernible gap (between BBC1 and TF1, just above F2). Thus, to keep the French channels together, the anchor point is set at 0.3. The higher "gap" just before TF1 (with 37%) is set at 0.35 as the threshold for full membership.[103] Consequently, only F2 and BBC1 are members of this set (although not full members). As far as full non-membership is concerned, particularly the German and Swiss channels specifically should be "out" of the set. Since 10v10 is a slight outlier to this identified trend, it cannot be granted full non-membership and the threshold is accordingly set at 0.2, which leaves RTL, Tagesschau and ARD as full non-members of the set.

The candidates' *control over the communication situations* in which they

[103] Note that high values on all subsequent variables correspond to high agreement with the respective concepts, unlike the cluster distances; thus, the threshold for full membership is now above the point of indifference, while it was below it for the cluster distances. The order and relation between the anchor point of 0.5 vs. those of 0.95 and 0.05 determines whether the scale is inverted or not (also see Ragin, 2006b, p. 16-18).

are shown in TV news broadcasts (a proxy indicator for the professionalization of the politicians' campaign communication) is also considered an important predictor of reporting styles (cf. sections II.5.3 and III.1, starting on p. 56 and 63). It is therefore included in the explanatory part of the analysis and needs to be calibrated. Looking at the values (cf. Table B.13, p. 295), it is immediately evident that the Swiss candidates are never shown in fully controlled situations in Tagesschau and 10v10, while the candidates for the US presidency almost only ever present themselves in fully controlled situations (90% of all situations in CNN; NBC: 88%, FOX: 85%, ABC: 69%). This vast discrepancy confirms the thesis that this concept will occur much more frequently in countries with highly professionalized campaign teams, such as the US (see section II.5.3, starting on p. 56). Furthermore, RTL also has a slightly higher value for this concept, with just over half of all communication situations (51%) being fully controlled. All other channels are located in between these two extreme groups. The point of indifference is therefore set at 0.4, putting the US-American channels as well as RTL into the set of highly controlled campaigns. The three US channels with fully controlled situations at more than 80% (NBC, CNN and FOX) are clearly the top end of the scale and need to become full members, thus the threshold for full membership is set at 0.8. Finally, the Swiss channels with no fully controlled situations at all need to be fully "out" of the set, thus the threshold for full non-membership is set at 0.2 just below the third-lowest ranked case of ITV1 (showing a value of 22%).

There is one last country level indicator stemming from secondary data left to calibrate: The relative expense of a campaign, measured with the estimated *cost of the campaign by the GDP*.[104] Again, the US campaign stands out as an outlier: Its relative value (0.12) is more than twice as high that of the next two most expensive campaigns (Italian and Swiss campaigns with a

[104] Since this is a country-level variable, only four different values are present, as with the media system sets transferred from Büchel et al. (2016).

value of 0.05).[105] The Swiss campaign is expensive because of the combination of the small size of the country (and thus a comparatively low absolute GDP) and the presence of a party that spends as much on its own for each campaign as all other Swiss parties combined (see section III.1, starting on p. 63). In Italy, it is the weak absolute GDP (for a relatively large country) that pushes it towards the more expensive campaigns. Furthermore, Italy is known for spending a lot on its parties (e.g., "Rimborsi Elettorali ai Partiti: L'Italia è la Più Sprecona d'Europa", 2012). The point of indifference is therefore set at 0.04. Clearly, the US channels need to have full membership, thus the respective threshold is set at 0.08. Finally, as the British and German campaigns with values of 0.02 need to be outside the set, the threshold for full non-membership is set at 0.02.

B.2.2.2 Set Relations and Parameters of Fit

Having discussed the basics of sets and set membership, this section focuses on *relations* between sets, in other words, situations in which more than just one set is processed. The basic Boolean operations (such intersections, conjunctions, disjunctions, etc.) used for "set calculations" are first discussed. Furthermore, *set relations* (subsets and supersets, or consistency and necessity) are discussed. For set relations, *parameters of fit* can be calculated to show how consistent empirical set relations are and how many cases they cover. These are explained in detail.

Set Operations and Set Relations As QCA is based on set theory, it also demands operations and relations between those sets that are based on a logic other than linear algebra (e.g., Schneider & Grofman, 2006; Ragin, 2008, p. 13-68; Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 52-90). Venn diagrams are a convenient way of visualizing such relations. The key set theoretic opera-

[105] Note that these values cannot be interpreted as shares! Because actual shares would result in vanishingly small numbers with many decimal places, the cost is kept in millions and the GDP in billions to compute the division (also see section III.1, starting on p. 63).

tions are illustrated below with the help of Figure B.1.

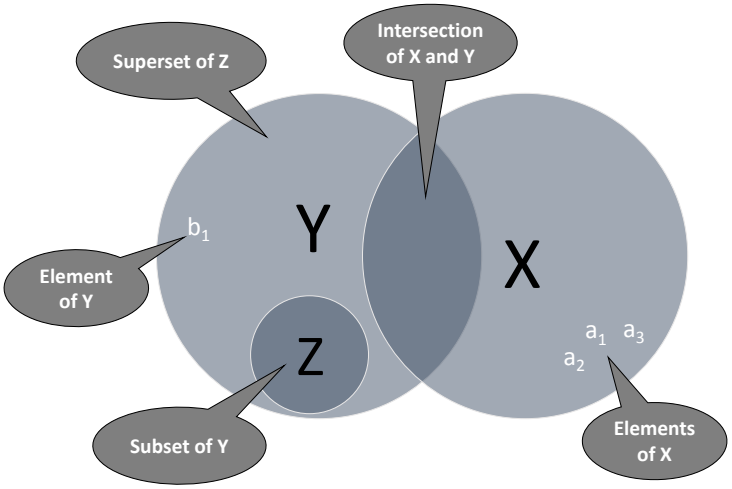


Figure B.1: Set Relations

In Figure B.1 (p. 303), three sets X, Y and Z are present as well as some elements a_1, a_2, a_3, b_1. Elements are single members of a set that contains a group of these elements (or "cases"). Various *set operations and relations* are shown in Figure B.1: Firstly, the different cases a_1, a_2 and a_3 are *elements* of set X. In set theoretic nomenclature, the symbol to signify an element of a set is "$a_1 \in X$". Case b_1 is *not an element* of X (as it is an element of Y); the notation is therefore "$b_1 \notin X$"; in logic, negations (also called the "complement") are denoted with "$\neg X$". There is also a small space where X and Y overlap, in set theory this is called an *intersection* of sets and is denoted as "$X \cap Y$"; in logic, this corresponds to a logical "and" operation (or "conjunction") and is denoted "X $\wedge$ Y". Then, there is also the combination of X or Y, meaning the whole space that is either X or Y or both, which is called a *set union* in set theory and signified with the symbol "$X \cup Y$"; in logic, it corresponds to a (non-exclusive) logical "or" operation (or "disjunction") and is denoted "X $\vee$ Y".[106] Finally, there is the subset-superset relation between sets Y and Z: Z is a *subset* of Y, which is denoted "$Z \subset Y$" in set theory. In logic, this corresponds to a sufficient condition, meaning that Z is sufficient (but not necessary) for Y ("material

[106] Note that the set union (or "disjunction") between X and Y is not marked in the figure for practical reasons.

implication"). The logical nomenclature for sufficient conditions is "Z $\rightarrow$ Y".[107] Finally, the superset relation between Y and Z is the inverse: Y is a *superset* of Z, which is denoted "$Y \supset Z$" in set theory; in logic, it means that Y is necessary for Z (also a "material implication") and is signified with "Y $\leftarrow$ Z". Table B.15 summarizes the various set operations ("$\cap$", "$\cup$") and set relations ("$\in$", "$\notin$", "$\subset$", "$\supset$"), listing the mathematical designation, written description, set theoretic symbol and logic symbol for each procedure (see section A.2, starting on p. 242 for the complete list of nomenclature).

Designation	**Written Description**	**Set Theory Symbol**	**Logic Symbol**
Element	a_1 is an **Element** of X	$a_1 \in X$	X
No Element	b_1 is **Not** an Element of X	$b_1 \notin X$	$\neg$X
Intersection	Overlap of X **and** Y	$X \cap Y$	X $\wedge$ Y
Set Union	Combination of X **or** Y	$X \cup Y$	X $\vee$ Y
Subset	Z is **Sufficient** for Y	$Z \subset Y$	Z $\rightarrow$ Y
Superset	Y is **Necessary** for Z	$Y \supset Z$	Y $\leftarrow$ Z

Table B.15: Nomenclature of Set Theory Operations and Relations

Furthermore, the values for conjunctions, disjunctions and negations can be calculated easily. All three formulae hold true both for crisp and fuzzy sets. The negation (logical "not") is simple and merely subtracts the value of the condition to be negated from 1:

$$\neg X = 1 - X. \tag{B.17}$$

The conjunction (logical "and") denotes the intersection of two sets. A resulting set value can thus only be high if the values for both sets are high, too – if an element shows little membership in one of the two sets,

[107] The set relations of subsets and supersets will be discussed in further detail in the following subsection discussing the parameters of fit.

chances are that it is not located in the intersection of the two sets. An analogy would be that a chain can only be as strong as its weakest link. Consequently, the formula demands the minimum of the two values:

$$X \wedge Y = \min(X, Y). \tag{B.18}$$

Finally, the disjunction (logical "or") denotes the combination of two sets. The resulting value can thus be as high as either the value of one or the other set (or both) – it does not matter whether the element is a member of one set or the other, as long as it is an element of one of the two sets, the membership value must be high. Thus, the formula requires the greater of the two values:

$$X \vee Y = \max(X, Y). \tag{B.19}$$

Parameters of Fit Since empirical set relations are rarely as clear cut and neat as the examples used in Figure B.1 and Table B.15, but are generally based on much "noisier" data (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 117-193), it is necessary to construct "parameters of fit" that assess the *trivialness, relevance and (relative) importance* of empirically detected set relations (e.g., Ragin, 2006a; Goertz, 2003, 2006; Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 119-150). Since sufficiency and necessity are the two sides of the same relation and can be inferred from each other,[108] the respective set relations as well as the parameters of fit are simply inverted and will thus only be discussed with respect to sufficiency. For a detailed account of all parameters, refer to Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 119-150, 232-237).

Firstly though, it is important to understand *how the subset / superset relations* (visualized with the help of Venn diagrams, see Figure B.1 and Table B.16 on p. 303 and 311) *correspond to sufficiency and necessity.* Table B.16 (p. 311) provides an overview of various visualizations and

[108] For example, Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 69) call necessity the "mirror image" of sufficiency (and vice versa).

accounts of sufficiency and necessity. The overview shows the relations using crosstables, truth tables, venn diagrams, XY plots and the respective formulae for necessity and sufficiency. Displaying all these ways of illustrating the set relations in one overview greatly helps to grasp the two concepts.

Remember that sufficiency and necessity are the "mirror image" of each other, and that a condition Z that is sufficient for Y corresponds to a subset of Y (see Figure B.1, p. 303). Looking at the Venn diagram (Figure B.1 or Table B.16 on p. 303 and 311), it is easy to see why this must be the case: *Sufficiency* means that each case that is an element of a sufficient condition also always shows the respective outcome, but it is possible that elements show the outcome, but not the conditions (sufficient, but not necessary condition). That is exactly the case with a subset relation of $X \in Y$ (or $Z \in Y$ in Figure B.1): All cases that are members of X must also be members of Y if X is a perfect subset of Y, but there are cases that are only elements of Y, but not of X. Converserly, the same is true for *necessity*: If X is a (perfect) superset of Y (or Y a superset of Z in Figure B.1), then any case that is an element of X must also be an element of Y. This means that a case that shows the outcome necessarily also shows the condition, but cases can show the condition without the outcome (necessary, but not sufficient condition). It is the perfect inverse of sufficiency.

Consistency and Coverage Armed with this knowledge, we can consider the actual *parameters of fit* needed to *assess the importance and coherence* of sufficient conditions (for an early discussion of these parameters, see Ragin, 2006a).[109] Looking at the cross table example in the overview (Table B.16, p. 311) first, there is one cell (labeled "f" for "false", see the list of nomenclature in section A.2, starting on p. 242) that is not allowed (i.e., cases present in this cell are contradictory to sufficiency): The cell that shows

[109] Mm: Since the two set relations of subsets and supersets are mirror images of each other, only the parameters for sufficiency are discussed in detail (the formulae for necessity consistency and necessity coverage are shown). For detailed descriptions, refer to Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 119-150, 232-237).

the condition X, but not the outcome Y. Considering the Venn diagram for sufficiency (i.e., the condition must be a subset of the outcome), it is a part of set X that is not a subset of Y (this space is labeled "c" in the Venn diagram in Table B.16) and is thus contradictory to sufficiency. The truth table that shows the four possible combinations of two sets also contains this information: It returns a false value if the condition is present, but not the outcome – which is exactly the "forbidden" constellation for the set relation of a sufficient condition (since the outcome must be present as well if the condition is present). This approach of looking at (in)coherence is the first aspect: Are there any contradictory cases? In QCA nomenclature, this aspect is called the *consistency* of a sufficient condition. The speech bubble in the Venn diagram in Table B.16 shows the formula[110] for calculating the consistency of a sufficient condition X for crisp sets (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 124-125):

$$Consistency_{\text{ Sufficiency Crisp Set}} = \frac{n \text{ of Cases where } X = 1 \text{ and } Y = 1}{n \text{ of Cases where } X = 1}. \quad \text{(B.20)}$$

Looking at the cross table and Venn diagram (see Table B.16, p. 311), this is exactly what the formula (in the speech bubble) says: The cases that show $X = 1$ as well as $Y = 1$ are those in the area where X and Y overlap. This is area b, or cell b (Mm: footnote 110) in the Venn diagram as well as the cross table. The cases that show $X = 1$ form the whole set of X, designated by areas $b + c$, or cells $b + c$ in the Venn diagram and cross table. Thus, the formula calculates the relative size of the overlapping area b compared to the overlapping area b plus the area of X exclusively (area c, which is con-

[110] NB: The labels a-d in the cross table in Table B.16 (p. 311) do *not* correspond to standard 2×2-cross table nomenclature (e.g., Benninghaus, 2005, p. 77-78). This is due to coherence for two reasons: Firstly, as the labels are used to denote explained, unexplained, contradictory and irrelevant cells, and the location of these cells varies between sufficiency and necessity, they can be kept the same across the two set relations (but it necessitates deviating from the standard nomenclature). Secondly, as the labels are used both in the 2×2-cross table as well as the venn diagrams in the visualization (Table B.16, p. 311), they can also be kept the same across these two display formats. Thus, the formulae in the speech bubble hold true for the cross table (of the respective set relation) as well. Keeping all these labels coherent in Table B.16 greatly helps to avoid confusion, a gain that justifies the deviation from standard nomenclature.

tradictory to sufficiency): Therefore, if there are no contradictory elements (i.e., if elements exist where $X = 1$, but $Y = 0$), this formula will return 1 as the maximum possible value. If there is no overlap between X and Y at all, the formula returns 0 (its minimum value). Thus, we can note that consistency is a measure of contrariness, i.e., a measure that tells the researcher how many contradictory elements there are in a given set relation. It is a measure of deviation from perfect sufficiency. Within crisp sets, the resulting value can be interpreted as a percentage: How many contradictory cases are present (cf. Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 122)?

Furthermore, we can consider how an equivalent formula can be constructed for fuzzy sets. The required criterion for a sufficient condition is the non-existence of a case where $X = 1$ and $Y = 0$. Looking at the truth table in Table B.16 (p. 311), the condition all three combinations of X and Y that lead to a true statement of sufficiency share is that X must be equal to or smaller than Y. Just as when calculating conjunctions, disjunctions and negations, this holds perfectly true for fuzzy sets as well: $X \leq Y$ (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 65-67, 125-126). The formula for consistency necessity can therefore return the smaller value of X or Y for each case and divide that by X: If X is smaller or equal to Y, the resulting value will always be 1. If it is lower, the division constructs a value indicating how much lower it is. Thus, the formula is:

$$Consistency_{\text{ Sufficiency Fuzzy Set}} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{I} \min(X_i, Y_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^{I} X_i}. \tag{B.21}$$

Finally, having explained consistency (a measure of coherence), the next topic is the *coverage* of set relations (for further detailed descriptions, see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 129-139). Coverage is a measure of importance. Looking at the Venn diagram for sufficiency in Table B.16 (p. 311), it is obvious that the size of condition X is key. For example, if only a very small fraction of all cases showing the outcome Y also show the condition X,

the condition is not particularly important, even if it is a perfect subset of the outcome (i.e., showing perfect consistency). While such a constellation agrees with sufficiency, it is an *irrelevant* sufficient condition that explains little of the cases in the sample. Looking at the cross table in Table B.16 (p. 311), all these "unexplained" cases are contained in the equivalent cell where $X = 0$ and $Y = 1$ (as also designated by the superscrip "a" for this cell). These elements do not contradict a sufficient condition, but they also do not add to its importance, as they are simply not elements of the condition. A formula is therefore required that puts the cases showing $X = 1$ as well as $Y = 1$ (cell and area b in the cross table and Venn diagram in Table B.16 on p. 311) in relation to those cases showing $X = 0$ and $Y = 1$ (cell and area a). For crisp sets, the following formula meets these requirements (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 130-131):

$$Coverage_{\text{ Sufficiency Crisp Set}} = \frac{n \text{ of Cases where } X = 1 \text{ and } Y = 1}{n \text{ of Cases where } Y = 1}. \quad \text{(B.22)}$$

This formula is also shown in the speech bubble in Table B.16 (p. 311). The cases showing $X = 1$ as well as $Y = 1$ are those in the overlapping area, while cases showing $Y = 1$ are contained within set Y. If no cases remain unexplained by X, the formula returns 1.

An equivalent formula for fuzzy sets must also be found. The area containing unexplained cases can be found in the second XY plot in Table B.16 (p. 311). Again, it is the area showing $X = 0$ and $Y = 1$. Cases that are closer to the neutral axis of X are those that remain unexplained and their explanatory power rises as they approach the main diagonal. The formula is therefore (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 131):

$$Coverage_{\text{ Sufficiency Fuzzy Set}} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{I} \min(X_i, Y_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^{I} Y_i} \quad \text{(B.23)}$$

Since necessity is simply the "mirror image" (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013; also, footnote 109, p. 306) of sufficiency and vice versa, the formulae for necessity are not discussed in detail. For the sake of completeness, however, they all are still presented below (for detailed descriptions, see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 139-147):

$$Consistency_{\text{ Necessity Crisp Set}} = \frac{n \text{ of Cases where } X = 1 \text{ and } Y = 1}{n \text{ of Cases where } Y = 1} \quad \text{(B.24)}$$

and

$$Consistency_{\text{ Necessity Fuzzy Set}} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{I} \min(X_i, Y_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^{I} Y_i} \quad \text{(B.25)}$$

and

$$Coverage_{\text{ Necessity Crisp Set}} = \frac{n \text{ of Cases where } X = 1 \text{ and } Y = 1}{n \text{ of Cases where } X = 1} \quad \text{(B.26)}$$

and

$$Coverage_{\text{ Necessity Fuzzy Set}} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{I} \min(X_i, Y_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^{I} X_i}. \quad \text{(B.27)}$$

Complex Set Relations Social science research is usually not interested in relations between single conditions and outcomes. Rather, it is assumed that the complexity of social reality can only be grasped using complex relations between causes and effects. Two key features of causal complexity in set theory are the assumptions of *equifinality* and *conjunctural causation* (e.g., Mahoney, 2008; Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 78). Equifinality means that one phenomenon can be explained by different, non-exclusive solutions. In other words, each outcome always has sepa-

	Crosstab	Truth Table	Venn Diagram	Simple XY Plot	Expanded XY Plot	Parameters of Fit
Sufficiency						

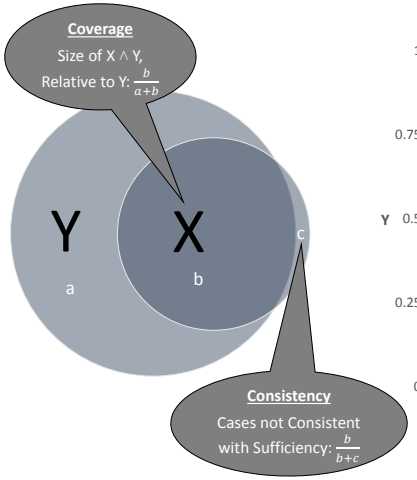
Crosstab

Y	**1**	t[a]	t[b]
	0	t[d]	f[c]
		0	**1**
		X	

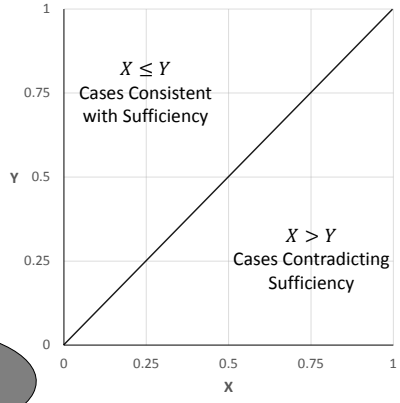
Truth Table

X	Y	X → Y
1	1	t
1	0	f
0	1	t
0	0	t

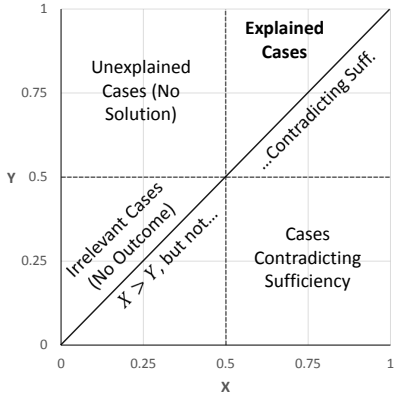
Venn Diagram



Simple XY Plot



Expanded XY Plot



Parameters of Fit

$$Cons. = \frac{\sum \min(X,Y)}{\sum X}$$
$$Cov. = \frac{\sum \min(X,Y)}{\sum Y}$$

	Crosstab	Truth Table	Venn Diagram	Simple XY Plot	Expanded XY Plot	Parameters of Fit
Necessity						

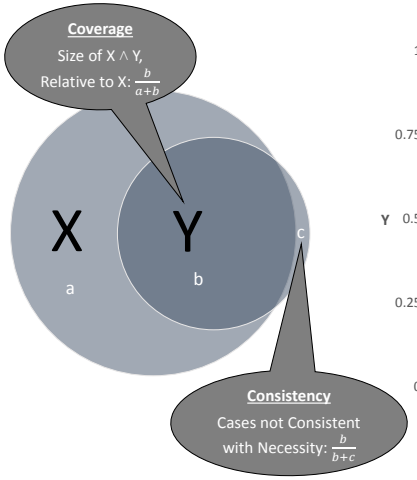
Crosstab

Y	**1**	f[c]	t[b]
	0	t[d]	t[a]
		0	**1**
		X	

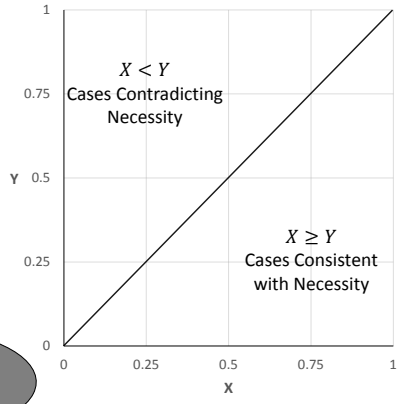
Truth Table

X	Y	X ← Y
1	1	t
1	0	t
0	1	f
0	0	t

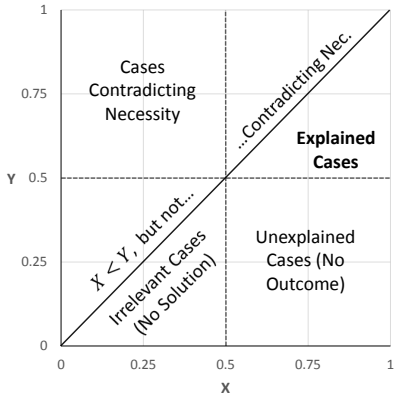
Venn Diagram



Simple XY Plot



Expanded XY Plot



Parameters of Fit

$$Cons. = \frac{\sum \min(X,Y)}{\sum Y}$$
$$Cov. = \frac{\sum \min(X,Y)}{\sum X}$$

[a] Unexplained, [b] Explained, [c] Contradictory, [d] Irrelevant Cases; NB: The labels "a-d" as used here do *not* correspond to standard 2×2-crosstab nomenclature (cf. footnote 110, p. 307)!

Table B.16: Overview of Sufficiency and Necessity

rate "solution paths" that lead to it. Secondly, the aspect of conjunctural causation implies that it is never single conditions that explain a given phenomenon, but rather the combination of various individual conditions. In QCA, these two aspects are interrelated by definition: It is always *combinations* of conditions that are analyzed and usually, several solution paths are produced and examined. The aim of standard applications of QCA is the identification of several combinations of conditions that are in their entirety sufficient for an outcome, i.e., the idea is that complete combinations of conditions are relevant as a sufficient condition to explain social phenomena. The single parts of such a combination, i.e., the invidiual conditions, are then so-called "INUS" conditions (see Mackie, 1965): They are ***i***nsufficient, but ***n***ecessary parts of a combination of conditions that is itself ***u***nnecessary, but ***s***ufficient.[111] This refers both to the feature of equifinality (the whole combination is sufficient, but not necessary – there could be other explanations) as well as conjunctural causation (combinations of conditions are examined, not individual conditions).[112]

A small digression *comparing sufficiency and necessity with covariance- and slope-based measures* (correlations, beta-values in regressions, etc.) is useful to further highlight the different epistemological mindsets (cf. Schneider & Grofman, 2006; Grofman & Schneider, 2009). In a nutshell, the measures used in linear algebra always correspond to a condition that is both sufficient and necessary. In truth table analysis, a perfectly necessary and sufficient condition would receive a coverage and consistency of 1 for both necessity and sufficiency. In the corresponding Venn diagram, the two sets would need to overlap perfectly; in the respective XY plot, all cases

[111] This also works for necessity, too: "SUIN" conditions.

[112] The usual aim of QCA is to identify sufficient conditions (or, more precisely, INUS combinations). The identification of necessary conditions is less attractive, mainly because necessary conditions bear the risk of being *trivial* necessary conditions. Trivialness in necessity has to do with the relation between the sizes of the superset and subset and is thus closely linked to the coverage parameter of necessity (it happens when the condition is either significantly greater or almost the same as the condition). Essentially, the maxim for the practitioner is that coverage values should only be interpreted if consistency for necessity passes certain levels of acceptance. For detailed discussions on this issue, see Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 144-147), Goertz (2003, 2006) and Ragin (2008, p. 60-63).

would need to be aligned along the main diagonal. In logic and set theory, such a relation is called the biconditional and is denoted with the symbol "$X \leftrightarrow Y$". It is the inverse of an exclusive disjunction, meaning that in a Venn diagram, it only holds true for all cases located in the intersection of two sets or outside both sets (an exclusive disjunction is only true if a case is in either one or the other set, but not in both).

Documentation of the Analysis of Necessity Analyzing necessity and sufficiency separately (and necessity first) is considered good practice in QCA (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 404-405). It helps to avoid potential pitfalls that happen frequently when statements about necessity are made on the basis of an analysis of sufficiency (for a detailed justification, see Schneider & Wagemann, 2007, p. 112-115). For this study, the parameters of fit for the necessity of all conditions with each outcome (including all negations) are reported in Table B.17 (p. 314). The consistency and coverage values reported in this table are obviously the consistency and coverage values for necessity ("mirror image").

Footnote 112 mentions that it is crucial to consider the *trivialness* of necessary conditions. There are two sources of trivial necessary conditions (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 146): Either if X is very large (compared to a very small Y), or if X and Y are nearly equal in size. Both sources of trivialness can be identified by looking at the consistency and coverage values: A condition showing an acceptable level of consistency, but low coverage (ca. below 0.5) is an indicator for the former source of trivialness, whereas a condition showing similar (and high) levels of both consistency and coverage is an indicator for the latter source of trivial necessary conditions. XY plots should also be inspected as, in the first instance, cases would cluster close to and along the vertical axis ($X = 1$), whereas in the second scenario, they would cluster along the main diagonal. The first scenario also shows why disjunctions of conditions tend to become necessary conditions very easily

Condition	Outcome											
	Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting		¬Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting		Journalist-Centered Process Reporting		¬Journalist-Centered Process Reporting		Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting		¬Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting	
	Cons.	Cov.	Cons.	Cov.	Cons.	Cov.	Cons.	Cov.	Cons.	Cov.	Cons.	Cov.
Public or Broadcast Channel	0.67	0.44	0.51	0.56	0.60	0.54	0.54	0.46	0.43	0.20	0.62	0.81
¬Public or Broadcast Channel	0.33	0.29	0.49	0.71	0.40	0.49	0.46	0.52	0.57	0.34	0.38	0.66
Press-Oriented or Corporatist System	0.63	0.62	0.38	0.62	0.59	0.80	0.36	0.46	0.42	0.28	0.45	0.87
¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist System	0.61	0.37	0.77	0.77	0.60	0.50	0.85	0.66	0.81	0.34	0.63	0.76
Expensive Campaign	0.63	0.44	0.58	0.68	0.56	0.54	0.64	0.58	0.53	0.26	0.59	0.82
¬Expensive Campaign	0.54	0.44	0.52	0.70	0.56	0.62	0.50	0.52	0.62	0.34	0.46	0.74
Controlled Campaign Comm.	0.40	0.35	0.56	0.82	0.54	0.65	0.44	0.50	0.47	0.28	0.46	0.80
¬Controlled Campaign Comm.	0.79	0.52	0.55	0.60	0.59	0.53	0.69	0.58	0.67	0.30	0.59	0.76
Meta-Focus on Left Candidate	0.54	0.39	0.59	0.72	0.41	0.41	0.78	0.73	0.80	0.40	0.47	0.68
¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate	0.61	0.47	0.50	0.64	0.73	0.78	0.37	0.38	0.36	0.19	0.58	0.89

Table B.17: Analysis of Necessary Conditions

as the disjunction expands the size of the (combined) condition. While presenting all XY plots would go beyond the scope of the analysis of necessary conditions, they are inspected by the author and are discussed where relevant in the following. To be certain that no possibly necessary conditions are missed, all conditions with a consistency value higher than 0.60 are discussed – a relatively low cutoff.[113]

A few things must be mentioned before looking more closely at detailed results with respect to necessity. Firstly, regarding the conditions, it is striking that the sets of 'public or broadcast channels' as well as the 'press-oriented or corporatist media systems' tend to show high consistency values: They are both disjunctions of single conditions, thus increasing the condition's size. Consequently, they show a tendency towards trivial necessary conditions. Additionally, the set 'public or broadcast channels' is a binary crisp set, thus the cases tend to cluster along the vertical axes. Secondly, regarding the outcomes, the set of 'campaign-centered meta reporting' shows textbook examples of the first scenario of trivial necessary conditions (a very large condition): This is due to the fact that this is the outcome with the least elements of the three outcomes (only three TV channels out of 14). With a small outcome, it is by definition easy to find conditions that are relatively large by comparison and thus trivial.

As far as the actual conditions in this study are concerned, many cases correspond to this first scenario of trivialness. Looking at the outcome of *candidate-centered issue reporting* first, the following conditions are trivial because of their relative size: 'Public or broadcast channel', '¬press-oriented or corporatist media system', 'expensive campaign', '¬controlled campaign communication' and '¬meta-focus on left candidate'. They all show various "true" contradictions, so none can explain the outcome consistently

[113] Of course, De Morgan's law (e.g., Klir et al., 1997, p. 37) applies to real-world data to the degree of perfection of the set relations. In other words, it works perfectly only if there are no contradictions and no logical remainders (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 114). Relations resembling the laws can be observed in a few instances from the available analysis of necessity.

across all cases. There is one condition that is almost congruent with the outcome: The 'press-oriented or corporatist media system'. Only one condition is a true necessary condition: The '¬controlled campaign communication'. It only shows one "true" contradiction (RTL), while all other cases (Italy, Switzerland and BBC1) can be explained by this condition. Consequently, a TV channel belonging to candidate-centered issue reporting almost necessarily shows an absence of controlled campaign communication. This is perfectly in line with the theoretical assumptions that predict that this journalistic reporting style will occur in highly commercialized and mediatized contexts, i.e., in campaigns with a highly controlled and orchestrated campaign strategy (which functions to a certain degree as a proxy indicator for mediatized systems). However, its rather low consistency value of 0.79 indicates that a number of cases still remain unexplained. Next, the negation of this outcome ('¬candidate-centered issue reporting') shows only one condition with a high consistency value: '¬Press-oriented or corporatist media systems'. The coverage value is exactly the same as the consistency value, an indicator that we are dealing with a trivial necessary condition that is almost congruent with the outcome. In the respective XY plot, most cases cluster along the main diagonal. The other cases are almost mirrored as well: This condition could just as well be interpreted as a sufficient condition. For both interpretations, there are true contradictions present. In fact, this set relation is a textbook example of the second scenario describing trivial necessity. It is also of note that it is no coincidence that the two examples of the second source of trivialness are found in "similar" set relations, namely the presence and absence of the respective condition and outcome: De Morgan's law predicts such a behavior (cf. footnote 113, p. 315).

Moving on to the interpretation of necessity with regard to *journalist-centered process reporting*, we can identify three conditions with high consistency values, all of which are trivial necessary conditions (that still show

"true" contradictions). The sets of 'public or broadcast channels' as well as '¬press-oriented or corporatist systems' adhere to the first scenario of large conditions, while the set '¬meta-focus on left candidate' corresponds to the second scenario of congruency between condition and outcome. In fact, the absence of a 'meta-focus on the left candidate' must rather be described as a sufficient condition (consistency necessity is lower than coverage necessity), a set relation where no "true" contradictions are present, while there are two "true" contradictions interpreting it as a necessary condition (ABC and BBC1). The negation of this outcome ('¬journalist-centered process reporting') shows three trivial necessary conditions, as well: The sets '¬controlled campaign communication' and 'meta-focus on left candidate' are almost congruent with the outcome, thus they are trivial necessary conditions (according to the first scenario). The latter is another textbook example of the second source of trivialness. However, the 'expensive campaign' shows a mixture of both sources of trivialness: The cases cluster mostly along the vertical axes, with a few cases clustering along the main diagonal. Finally, there is one actual necessary condition: The absence of a 'press-oriented or corporatist system'. It does not show any true contradictions and can explain some cases (Italy, France and FOX), while some others remain unexplained (ABC, NBC and CNN). The rest (Germany, Switzerland, UK) show neither the solution, nor the outcome. This is reflected in the consistency value of 0.85 which is still relatively low for an actual necessary condition. However, it is possible to draw the following interpretation: If a TV channel is not part of journalist-centered reporting, it is also not part of the press-oriented or corporatist media system. Again, this is in line with theoretical assumptions that predict the occurrence of this reporting style mainly in professionalized media systems.

Finally, the necessary conditions for *campaign-centered meta reporting* need to be considered. As has been mentioned, this condition is small (only three cases: French channels and FOX) and thus tends to produce

trivial necessary conditions. Looking at the parameters, all conditions with high consistency values are trivial (according to the first scenario, as predicted): '¬Press-oriented or corporatist system', '¬expensive campaign', '¬controlled campaign communication' and 'meta-focus on left candidate'. The first set relation with an extreme difference between consistency (0.81) and coverage (0.34) can be considered a textbook example of the first scenario of trivialness. The same applies for the negation of this outcome ('¬campaign-centered meta reporting): The sets 'public or broadcast channel' and '¬press-oriented or corporatist system' are trivial necessary conditions according to the first scenario. The former is in fact even more consistent with sufficiency.

B.2.2.3 Truth Tables and Limited Diversity

Having explained (complex) set relations and discussed the analysis of necessity completed in this study, the next topic is the "truth table" analysis (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 178-193). It is a means identifying "INUS" combinations of single conditions. Since the results of this analysis are core aspects of this study, they are discussed and interpreted in the main text (see chapter IV.3, starting on p. 181). However, the basics of truth table analysis are presented here. Some resulting implications regarding "logical remainders" and "limited diversity" are also discussed. Also, as truth table analysis usually produces several different types of solutions (called "parsimonious", "complex" and "intermediate" solution), a full documentation of all identified solutions is presented at the end of this subsection. Presenting all solutions that have been produced is good standard practice in QCA, even if only the intermediate solution is actually discussed in the main interpretation (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 408, 413-414).

The Basics of the Truth Table As mentioned above, truth tables are a means of identifying INUS conditions. They work according to a simple

logic: *All possible combinations* of absence and presence between all conditions are listed in their rows. The number of possible combinations of (binary) conditions for sampling with replacement is calculated using the following combinatoric formula (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 93; Ragin, 2000, p. 73):

$$n_{\text{ Possible Comb.}} = 2^k, \tag{B.28}$$

where k = number of conditions. An analysis using three conditions therefore results in a truth table with eight rows, four conditions result in 16 combinations, five conditions produce a truth table with 32 combinations, and so on. The number of possible combinations is doubled for each additional condition. The conditions therefore need to be chosen carefully and there is a limit to the number of conditions possible for an analysis that still delivers sensible results. Of course, the truth table rows are exclusive, i.e., cases can correspond to only one row at any given time.

Logical Remainders and Limited Diversity Using truth tables to plot all possible combinations of conditions reveals an issue inherent in empirical social research that is ignored by much of the research: The problem of "limited diversity". This term highlights the fact that *truth tables are nearly always "incomplete"*, i.e., lacking actual empirical evidence for each and every possible combination of conditions. So, if a truth table is drawn up and the cases are allocated to the truth table rows to which they correspond, some truth table rows are likely to remain empty. These empty combinations of conditions are called "logical remainders" ("limited diversity" is the label for the general issue). This is an important issue in any empirical research, irrespective of the data collection technique (qualitative vs. quantitative) or analysis strategy. QCA is the only method[114] that highlights this problem

[114] However, there are some exceptions that debate the issue with regard to traditional statistics (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 158). The phenomenon is discussed under the labels of empty cells, structural zeros or convex hulls (e.g., Timpone, 1998; King & Zeng, 2007b,a; Sambanis & Doyle, 2007; Schrodt, 2007; Morrow, 2007). The discussion among the latter five papers suggests that there is not much agreement among scholars about how to assess the phenomenon and deal with the issue.

and proactively uses it to the researcher's advantage in the analysis.

Reasons for Limited Diversity Generally, there are three reasons for limited diversity (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 93, 152-157). Firstly (1), there are more possible combinations than cases. QCA is often applied with middle-N samples of around 15-20 cases. An analysis using four conditions produces 16 possible combinations, so if there are only 15 cases there will be one empty row even if all cases correspond to a different combination of conditions. Adding conditions therefore increases the degree of limited diversity drastically if the number of cases is close to the number of initial possible combinations. Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 154) label this type *arithmetic remainders*.

Secondly (2), cases investigated in social science typically cluster "naturally", as they are structured by similar historical processes and cultural features. Thus, certain combinations appear rarely or not at all, despite being possible. For example, Ragin (2000, p. 286-290) talks about rationalizing the generosity of welfare states from the strength of trade unions and the strength of leftwing parties; Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 154) point out that there is not one instance in his data of a country showing strong trade unions, but not strong leftwing parties. Thus, any such combination would result in a logical remainder in the truth table. Of course, this is not a coincidence or a mistake in the data: Strong trade unions and strong leftwing parties tend to go hand in hand and historically develop cooperatively. Instances of this source of limited diversity are termed *clustered remainders* by Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 154-155).

Thirdly (3), some combinations may not be possible. These are often natural scientific features, e.g., biological or geographical. A classic example is the "pregnant man" (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 156): An analysis using the conditions 'male' as well as 'pregnant' necessarily results in a truth table row describing a pregnant man. There are plenty of exam-

ples, but often there are few exceptions. For example, a biological analysis using the conditions 'mammal' and 'lays eggs' would produce combinations that are rare, but not impossible (monotremes are mammals that lay eggs and there are snakes that give birth to live young). However, all birds lay eggs. So, an analysis with the conditions 'bird' and 'lays eggs' would result in three truth table rows with plenty of cases (bird that lays eggs: All birds; not bird that lays eggs: E.g., most reptiles; not bird that does not lay eggs: Almost all mammals) and one impossible truth table row: A bird that does not lay eggs. Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 155-156) call logical remainders of this type *impossible remainders*.

Distinguishing Limited Diversity There are a few seemingly similar issues that are well known in statistics and qualitative studies. Three problematic aspects will instinctively come to the minds of method-savvy researchers confronted with QCA for the first time (two of which are mentioned by Schneider & Wagemann (2013, p. 157-160)): Missing values, low degrees of freedom and wrong estimates using intra- or extrapolation.

The reasons why *missing values* are different from logical remainders are straightforward: Missing values always concern single conditions, but limited diversity is about the lack of empirical evidence for combinations of conditions. Also, missing values are, epistemologically speaking, a different issue: They are concerned with "empty" variables for cases that actually exist (e.g., because probands refused to answer a question in a questionnaire – the proband exists), while limited diversity involves the fact that no cases exist (or were sampled) for a certain combination of conditions. Basically, for these counterfactual cases, all variables are empty.

Another concept from standard statistics that might be mistaken for limited diversity is the issue of *low degrees of freedom*. Degrees of freedom deal with necessary sample sizes in order to reliably draw statistical inferences. Thus, where there are plenty of cases in the sample and a limited number of

variables to analyze, degrees of freedom are not an issue. However, while logical remainders can be related to the sample size and number of conditions (remember the "arithmetic remainders"), degrees of freedom are a concept totally independent of logical remainders. Even in a study with a huge number of cases and only very few variables, it is still possible to have "clustered" and "impossible" remainders.

Finally, researchers might be reminded of problems associated with the *inter-* and *extrapolation* of values (e.g., based on regression equations). This is done to calculate values of "fictional" cases, meaning that there are no actual cases showing these values, but (using the example of the regression equation) values for Y can be calculated on the basis of X. In that sense, it too is a counterfactual analysis. However, it is also completely independent of limited diversity: Just as with the distinction from missing values, estimating values with inter- and / or extrapolation is only concerned with one single, isolated variable (the one for which a value is estimated), while limited diversity is always about combinations of conditions.

Truth Table Analysis Armed with this knowledge of the structure of truth tables and the issue of limited diversity, the following explanations discuss the use of truth tables in the analysis by firstly explaining how they help to identify INUS conditions with regard to an outcome. Secondly, the implications of the phenomenon of limited diversity and how QCA actually turns it into an advantage are discussed.[115]

Basic Proceedings The first step in the *proceedings* of a truth table analysis is to draw up the truth table. To do so, all possible combinations of conditions are first noted. Then, all cases are assigned to the truth table row to which they belong. This will immediately reveal the logical remainders. Commonly-used computer programs such as *fsQCA* (see Ragin et al.,

[115] The actual truth tables produced with the data at hand are shown in the main text. Please refer to Tables IV.8, IV.9 and IV.10 (p. 183, 188 and 193).

2006) also sort the truth table rows by the number of cases, which is convenient. The next step is to consider an outcome that may be the result of combinations of conditions in the data. The researcher (or, the computer program) can subsequently calculate the consistency values of all truth table rows (even the logical remainders, although that is not useful) with respect to that outcome. Technically, the membership values of the single combinations have to be calculated first (using the formulae for negations, conjunctions and disjunctions – see equations B.17, B.18 and B.19 on p. 304, 305 and 305). After that, the formula for consistency (equation B.21, p. 308) can be applied.

Consider the truth table rows that do show empirical evidence (i.e., that are not logical remainders) with high consistency (ca. above 0.7) with regard to the outcome: Each of these combinations of conditions is a subset of the outcome (to the degree of the consistency parameter) and as such, an *INUS* condition. Thus, the truth table rows that are consistently sufficient for the outcome are marked, or "coded" in the terms of *fsQCA* (see Ragin et al., 2006; Ragin, 2006b, p. 77-79). All other truth table rows are considered irrelevant and are deleted. Using disjunctions to combine the truth table rows with empirical evidence and high consistency values will therefore result in a further, larger INUS condition (because of the disjunctions, the size of the set expands). The researcher could stop here and use this expanded formula as his solution. Each original truth table row is regarded as one solution path, i.e., one possible sufficient (but not necessary) condition for the outcome (that itself consists of conjunctions of single conditions, i.e., it is an INUS condition). However, such a formula is fairly large and complex and it does not simplify the information shown in the truth table itself at all. A further step is therefore required: *Logical minimization*. This is done by reducing the complex formula to logically equivalent supersets of the original complex formula (of course, all intermediate solutions between these two extremes are also logically equivalent to

the complex formula). The rules for the applied logical minimization are descibed in the so-called "Quine-McCluskey" algorithm (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 104-115) which was developed by Willard V. Quine (1952; 1955) and expanded by Edward J. McCluskey (1956).

Two general rules are applied for the logical minimization (cf. Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 104-115): Firstly, if there are two truth table rows that both lead to the outcome and if they differ only on one condition (absent in one, present in the other truth table row), this condition can be considered irrelevant and can be reduced. The original two rows will merge into a new single combination with the differing condition omitted. Secondly, redundant "prime implicants" can also be dropped. Prime implicants are the end results of the minimization using the first rule, i.e., the single "solution paths" that lead to the outcome. So they are what is left from the truth table rows after minimization. If all single conditions are covered in a solution without a specific prime implicant included in the (modified) solution, the prime implicant can be considered logically redundant and can be dropped. In the computer program *fsQCA* (see Ragin et al., 2006; Ragin, 2006b, p. 39-41), the user is presented with various prime implicants that can be added (or dropped) in a separate pop up window – if there are logically redundant prime implicants.

Counterfactual Analysis The explanations of minimization have so far not considered the presence of logical remainders, i.e., the application of truth table analysis with *incomplete truth tables*. Generally, logical remainders don't have a direct effect on the minimization: While consistency values can be calculated even if no empirical evidence exists for a truth table row (because fuzzy set membership scores can nevertheless be calculated for non-membership), they are deleted during the process of "coding" the outcome (e.g., Ragin, 2006b, p. 46). However, as has been mentioned, QCA does not simply highlight the issue of limited diversity, it treats it as an opportunity.

There are three different ways to minimize the initial solution formula derived from the truth table (e.g., Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 171-177). They vary in the treatment of logical remainders and consequently, in complexity. The strict description of the proceedings of truth table analysis as explained above is the first type of minimization: No logical remainders are used to derive the final solution formula. This first type of solution is called the *complex* or *conservative solution*. It is the solution comprising the highest number of conditions and relations between them (for a specific analysis with a specific empirical sample, of course). At the other end of the spectrum, there is a solution comprising as few conditions as possible, appropriately known as the *parsimonious solution*. It must be a simplified version of the complex solution – i.e., a logically equivalent superset of the complex solution. Thus, the parsimonious solution always contains the complex solution (and all intermediate versions in between). To arrive at this further minimization, the parsimonious solution applies a counterfactual analysis using the logical remainders: If any logical remainder can be used to further minimize the solution formula, it is included in the calculation to simplify the solution formula as far as possible. In other words, all "simplifying assumptions" (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 175) are used for the minimization. Finally, there is a range of *intermediate solutions* that are in between the complex and parsimonious solutions (set-theoretically speaking, the intermediate solution is a superset of the complex and a subset of the parsimonious solution). This solution is established using only "easy counterfactuals" (Schneider & Wagemann, 2013, p. 175): For each single condition used in the analysis, the researcher specifies whether its absence or its presence (or both) is assumed to be relevant for the outcome.[116] Of course, this step has to be justified using extensive case

[116] In the computer program *fsQCA* (see Ragin et al., 2006), a popup window appears with which the researcher can specify the easy counterfactuals (cf. Ragin, 2006b, p. 52-53). The default setting is "present or absent" for all conditions, which equates to not making any assumptions about easy counterfactuals and results in the complex solution. Thus, if no assumptions are made, no intermediate solution can be produced.

knowledge and existing studies and theories. While researchers usually rely on the intermediate solution for their analysis, it is recommended practice to report all three solutions on every occasion for the sake of transparency (see Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 407-708).

Full Documentation of QCA Solutions The following three Tables B.18, B.19 and B.20 (p. 327-329) document all solutions for each of the three truth table analyses conducted in this dissertation.[117] All three intermediate solutions prove to be useful "compromises" between the parsimonious and complex solutions: The former produce little solution paths with many cases each, while the latter produce many solution paths with only few cases each. Using the intermediate solutions provides the advantages of both other approaches.

[117] The intermediate solutions are discussed in detail in section IV.3 (p. 181).

	Solution Term (for Outcome: Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting)	Raw Cov.	Unique Cov.	Cons.	Cases
Intermediate	Expensive Campaign ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Controlled Campaign Communication	0.30	0.26	0.88	CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10
	Expensive Campaign ∧ ¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Controlled Campaign Communication	0.28	0.21	0.69	IT08 RAI1 & Canale5
	¬Expensive Campaign ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ Controlled Campaign Communication	0.14	0.13	1.00	DE09 RTL
	¬Expensive Campaign ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Controlled Campaign Communication	0.17	0.12	0.73	UK10 BBC1
	Solution Coverage: 0.79				
	Solution Consistency: 0.84				
Complex	¬Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Expensive Campaign	0.28	0.21	0.69	IT08 RAI1 & Canale5
	Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ ¬Expensive Campaign	0.14	0.13	1.00	DE09 RTL
	¬Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ ¬Expensive Campaign	0.17	0.12	0.73	UK10 BBC1
	¬Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Expensive Campaign	0.29	0.25	0.88	CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10
	Solution Coverage: 0.78				
	Solution Consistency: 0.84				
Parsimonious	¬Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Expensive Campaign	0.55	0.45	0.82	CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10, IT08 RAI1 & Canale5
	Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System	0.22	0.11	0.60	UK10 BBC1
	Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System[a]	0.23	0.13	0.70	DE09 RTL
	Solution Coverage: 0.81				
	Solution Consistency: 0.78				

[a] Prime Implicant. Alternative solution path: Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ ¬Expensive Campaign

Table B.18: Full Solutions for Candidate-Centered Issue Reporting

	Solution Term (for Outcome: Journalist-Centered Process Reporting)	Raw Cov.	Unique Cov.	Cons.	Cases
Intermediate	Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate	0.52	0.19	0.87	CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10, DE09 ARD & RTL, UK10 ITV1
	Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel	0.37	0.05	0.80	CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10, DE09 ARD, UK10 BBC1
	Expensive Campaign ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ Controlled Campaign Communication	0.21	0.10	0.87	US08 NBC & CNN
	Expensive Campaign ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Controlled Campaign Communication	0.23	0.12	0.65	US08 NBC & ABC
	Solution Coverage: 0.87				
	Solution Consistency: 0.81				
Complex	¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Expensive Campaign	0.20	0.19	1.00	UK10 ITV1, DE09 RTL
	¬Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Expensive Campaign	0.28	0.05	0.83	UK10 BBC1, DE09 ARD
	¬Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System	0.31	0.09	0.80	CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10, DE09 ARD
	Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ ¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Expensive Campaign	0.21	0.10	0.87	US08 NBC & CNN
	Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ ¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Expensive Campaign	0.23	0.12	0.65	US08 NBC & ABC
	Solution Coverage: 0.87				
	Solution Consistency: 0.81				
Parsimonious	¬Meta-Focus on Left Candidate	0.73	0.14	0.78	DE09 ARD & RTL, CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10, US08 NBC & CNN, UK10 ITV1
	Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System	0.59	0.06	0.80	UK10 BBC1 & ITV1, CH11 Tagesschau & 10v10, DE09 ARD & RTL
	Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Public or Broadcast Channel	0.27	0.12	0.69	US08 NBC & ABC
	Solution Coverage: 0.92				
	Solution Consistency: 0.72				

Table B.19: Full Solutions for Journalist-Centered Process Reporting

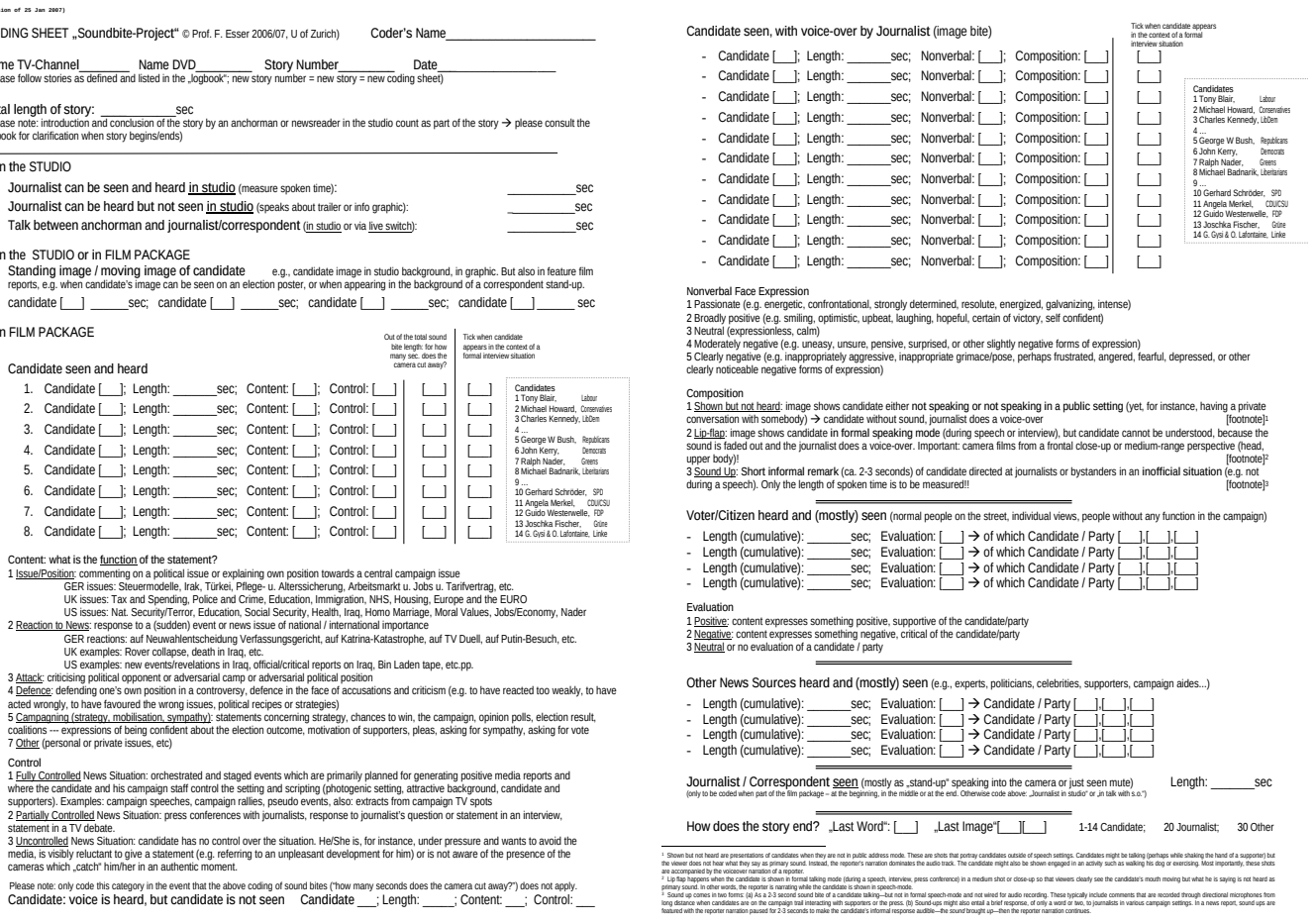
	Solution Term (for Outcome: Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting)	Raw Cov.	Unique Cov.	Cons.	Cases
Intermediate	¬Expensive Campaign ∧ ¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate	0.44	0.35	0.65	FR07 TF1 & F2
	¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Controlled Campaign Communication	0.33	0.25	0.67	US08 FOX
	Solution Coverage: 0.69				
	Solution Consistency: 0.67				
Complex	¬Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Expensive Campaign	0.44	0.36	0.65	FR07 TF1 & F2
	Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Public or Broadcast Channel ∧ Expensive Campaign	0.33	0.25	0.67	US08 FOX
	Solution Coverage: 0.69				
	Solution Consistency: 0.67				
Parsimonious	¬Press-Oriented or Corporatist Media System ∧ ¬Expensive Campaign	0.55	0.47	0.57	FR07 TF1 & F2
	Controlled Campaign Communication ∧ Meta-Focus on Left Candidate ∧ ¬Public or Broadcast Channel	0.33	0.25	0.67	US08 FOX
	Solution Coverage: 0.80				
	Solution Consistency: 0.61				

Table B.20: Full Solutions for Campaign-Centered Meta Reporting

Appendix C

Overview: Coding Sheets

The following two figures briefly list the coding sheets used to code the TV newscasts (for soundbites and metacoverage). For the complete and detailed codebooks, please refer to the digital appendix (cf. section D, p. 332).



(Version of 25 Jan 2007)

CODING SHEET „Soundbite-Project" © Prof. F. Esser 2006/07, U of Zurich) Coder's Name_____

Name TV-Channel_____ Name DVD_____ Story Number_____ Date_____
(Please follow stories as defined and listed in the „logbook"; new story number = new story = new coding sheet)

Total length of story: _____sec
(Please note: introduction and conclusion of the story by an anchorman or newsreader in the studio count as part of the story → please consult the logbook for clarification when story begins/ends)

... in the STUDIO

Journalist can be seen and heard in studio (measure spoken time): _____sec
Journalist can be heard but not seen in studio (speaks about trailer or info graphic): _____sec
Talk between anchorman and journalist/correspondent (in studio or via live switch): _____sec

... in the STUDIO or in FILM PACKAGE

Standing image / moving image of candidate e.g., candidate image in studio background, in graphic. But also in feature film reports, e.g. when candidate's image can be seen on an election poster, or when appearing in the background of a correspondent stand-up.
candidate [___] _____sec; candidate [___] _____sec; candidate [___] _____sec; candidate [___] _____ sec

... in FILM PACKAGE

Out of the total sound bite length: for how many sec. does the camera cut away?

Tick when candidate appears in the context of a formal interview situation

Candidate seen and heard

1. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]
2. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]
3. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]
4. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]
5. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]
6. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]
7. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]
8. Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Content: [___]; Control: [___] [___] [___]

Candidates
1 Tony Blair, Labour
2 Michael Howard, Conservatives
3 Charles Kennedy, LibDem
4 ...
5 George W Bush, Republicans
6 John Kerry, Democrats
7 Ralph Nader, Greens
8 Michael Badnarik, Libertarians
9 ...
10 Gerhard Schröder, SPD
11 Angela Merkel, CDU/CSU
12 Guido Westerwelle, FDP
13 Joschka Fischer, Grüne
14 G. Gysi & O. Lafontaine, Linke

Content: what is the function of the statement?
1 Issue/Position: commenting on a political issue or explaining own position towards a central campaign issue
GER issues: Steuermodelle, Irak, Türkei, Pflege- u. Altenssicherung, Arbeitsmarkt u. Jobs u. Tarifvertrag, etc.
UK issues: Tax and Spending, Police and Crime, Education, Immigration, NHS, Housing, Europe and the EURO
US issues: Nat. Security/Terror, Education, Social Security, Health, Iraq, Homo Marriage, Moral Values, Jobs/Economy, Nader
2 Reaction to News: response to a (sudden) event or news issue of national / international importance
GER reactions: auf Neuwahlentscheidung Verfassungsgericht, auf Katrina-Katastrophe, auf TV Duell, auf Putin-Besuch, etc.
UK examples: Rover collapse, death in Iraq, etc.
US examples: new events/revelations in Iraq, official/critical reports on Iraq, Bin Laden tape, etc.pp.
3 Attack: criticising political opponent or adversarial camp or adversarial political position
4 Defence: defending one's own position in a controversy, defence in the face of accusations and criticism (e.g. to have reacted too weakly, to have acted wrongly, to have favoured the wrong issues, political recipes or strategies)
5 Campagning (strategy, mobilisation, sympathy): statements concerning strategy, chances to win, the campaign, opinion polls, election result, coalitions --- expressions of being confident about the election outcome, motivation of supporters, pleas, asking for sympathy, asking for vote
7 Other (personal or private issues, etc)

Control
1 Fully Controlled News Situation: orchestrated and staged events which are primarily planned for generating positive media reports and where the candidate and his campaign staff control the setting and scripting (photogenic setting, attractive background, candidate and supporters). Examples: campaign speeches, campaign rallies, pseudo events, also: extracts from campaign TV spots
2 Partially Controlled News Situation: press conferences with journalists, response to journalist's question or statement in an interview, statement in a TV debate.
3 Uncontrolled News Situation: candidate has no control over the situation. He/She is, for instance, under pressure and wants to avoid the media, is visibly reluctant to give a statement (e.g. referring to an unpleasant development for him) or is not aware of the presence of the cameras which „catch" him/her in an authentic moment.

Please note: only code this category in the event that the above coding of sound bites ("how many seconds does the camera cut away?") does not apply.
Candidate: voice is heard, but candidate is not seen Candidate ___; Length: _____; Content: ___; Control: ___

Candidate seen, with voice-over by Journalist (image bite)

Tick when candidate appears in the context of a formal interview situation

- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]
- Candidate [___]; Length: _____sec; Nonverbal: [___]; Composition: [___] [___]

Candidates
1 Tony Blair, Labour
2 Michael Howard, Conservatives
3 Charles Kennedy, LibDem
4 ...
5 George W Bush, Republicans
6 John Kerry, Democrats
7 Ralph Nader, Greens
8 Michael Badnarik, Libertarians
9 ...
10 Gerhard Schröder, SPD
11 Angela Merkel, CDU/CSU
12 Guido Westerwelle, FDP
13 Joschka Fischer, Grüne
14 G. Gysi & O. Lafontaine, Linke

Nonverbal Face Expression
1 Passionate (e.g. energetic, confrontational, strongly determined, resolute, energized, galvanizing, intense)
2 Broadly positive (e.g. smiling, optimistic, upbeat, laughing, hopeful, certain of victory, self confident)
3 Neutral (expressionless, calm)
4 Moderately negative (e.g. uneasy, unsure, pensive, surprised, or other slightly negative forms of expression)
5 Clearly negative (e.g. inappropriately aggressive, inappropriate grimace/pose, perhaps frustrated, angered, fearful, depressed, or other clearly noticeable negative forms of expression)

Composition
1 Shown but not heard: image shows candidate either not speaking or not speaking in a public setting (yet, for instance, having a private conversation with somebody) → candidate without sound, journalist does a voice-over [footnote][1]
2 Lip-flap: image shows candidate in formal speaking mode (during speech or interview), but candidate cannot be understood, because the sound is faded out and the journalist does a voice-over. Important: camera films from a frontal close-up or medium-range perspective (head, upper body)! [footnote][2]
3 Sound Up: Short informal remark (ca. 2-3 seconds) of candidate directed at journalists or bystanders in an inofficial situation (e.g. not during a speech). Only the length of spoken time is to be measured!! [footnote][3]

Voter/Citizen heard and (mostly) seen (normal people on the street, individual views, people without any function in the campaign)

- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → of which Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]
- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → of which Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]
- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → of which Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]
- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → of which Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]

Evaluation
1 Positive: content expresses something positive, supportive of the candidate/party
2 Negative: content expresses something negative, critical of the candidate/party
3 Neutral or no evaluation of a candidate / party

Other News Sources heard and (mostly) seen (e.g., experts, politicians, celebrities, supporters, campaign aides...)

- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]
- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]
- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]
- Length (cumulative): _____sec; Evaluation: [___] → Candidate / Party [___],[___],[___]

Journalist / Correspondent seen (mostly as „stand-up" speaking into the camera or just seen mute) Length: _____sec
(only to be coded when part of the film package – at the beginning, in the middle or at the end. Otherwise code above: „Journalist in studio" or „in talk with s.o.")

How does the story end? „Last Word": [___] „Last Image"[___][___] 1-14 Candidate; 20 Journalist; 30 Other

[1] Shown but not heard are presentations of candidates when they are not in public address mode. These are shots that portray candidates outside of speech settings. Candidates might be talking (perhaps while shaking the hand of a supporter) but the viewer does not hear what they say as primary sound. Instead, the reporter's narration dominates the audio track. The candidate might also be shown engaged in an activity such as walking his dog or exercising. Most importantly, these shots are accompanied by the voiceover narration of a reporter.
[2] Lip flap happens when the candidate is shown in formal talking mode (during a speech, interview, press conference) in a medium shot or close-up so that viewers clearly see the candidate's mouth moving but what he is saying is not heard as primary sound. In other words, the reporter is narrating while the candidate is shown in speech-mode.
[3] Sound up comes in two forms: (a) As a 2-3 second sound bite of a candidate talking—but not in formal speech-mode and not wired for audio recording. These typically include comments that are recorded through directional microphones from long distance when candidates are on the campaign trail interacting with supporters or the press. (b) Sound-ups might also entail a brief response, of only a word or two, to journalists in various campaign settings. In a news report, sound ups are featured with the reporter narration paused for 2-3 seconds to make the candidate's informal response audible—the sound brought up—then the reporter narration continues.

Figure C.1: Coding Sheet Soundbites

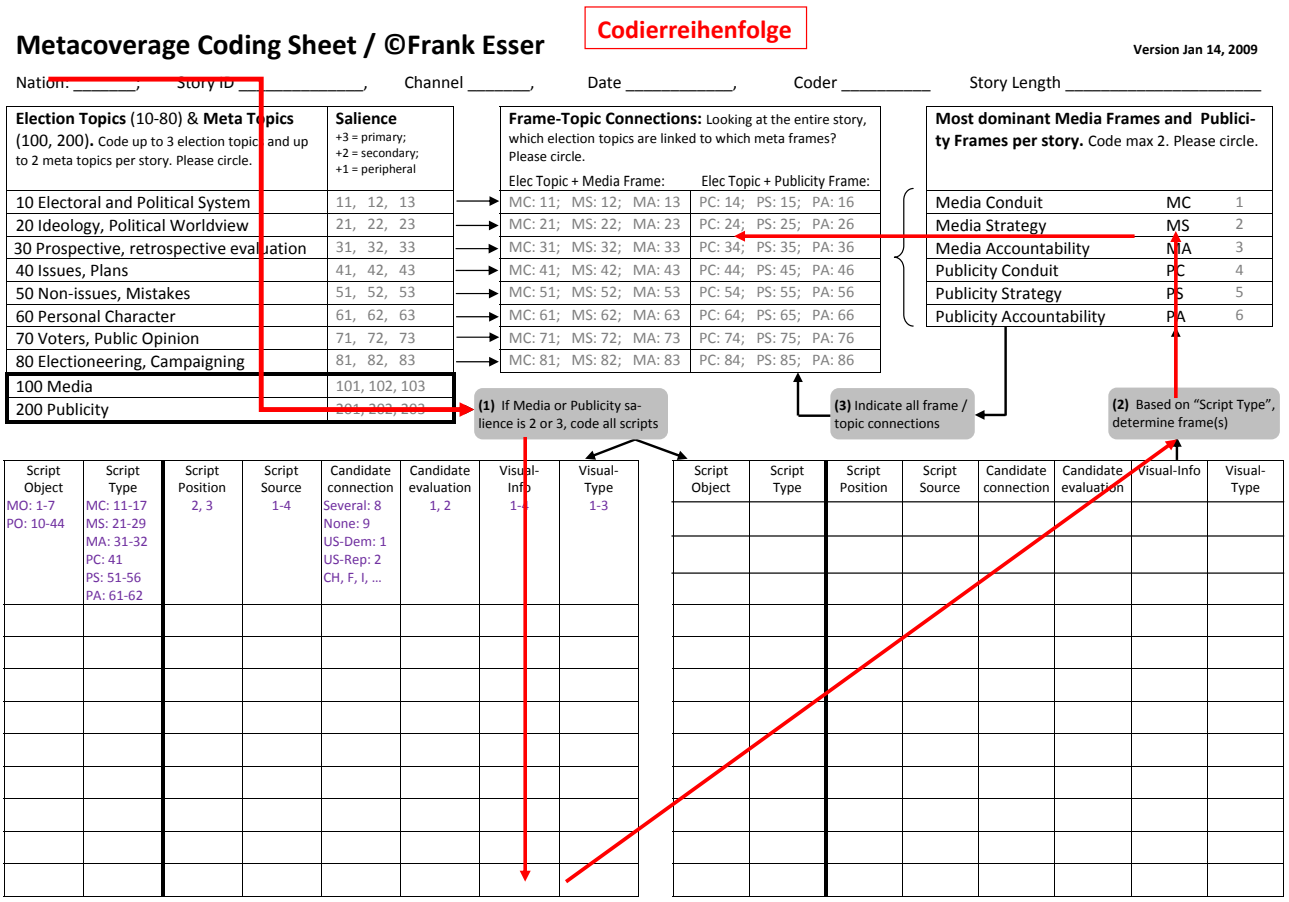


Figure C.2: Coding Sheet Metacoverage

Appendix D

Digital Appendix

The digital appendix contains all files relevant for this dissertation. They are structured into several folders that are described briefly in the following list. The aim of this list is to provide a quick overview of the various files used. For example, many more figures for all analyses are present and all data files are in the digital appendix, too. The digital appendix can be requested from the author.

- **Analysis**
  - Separate folders for correspondence- and cluster analysis, cross-validation via factor analysis, descriptive analysis, QCA
  - Each folder contains the relevant files for each method (mainly graphs and tables, but also SPSS syntax files documenting the calculations)
- **Codebooks**
  - Contains all soundbite- and metacoverage codebooks
- **Context Data**
  - Contains all contextual factors / explanatory conditions
  - Mainly tables listing exogenous variables, including sources
- **Data**
  - Contains all data sets relevant for the dissertation
  - Separate folders for: Aggregated, data cleansing, for aggregation, logbooks, original

  - Aggregated: Data files after aggregation to the level of TV channels; separate folders for correspondence analysis, QCA, Excel utility files (custom tables to aggregate the individual elections)[118]
  - Data cleansing: Contains all SPSS syntax files used for recodings and filters, as well as the complete documentation of data cleansing
  - For aggregation: Contains all SPSS data files on proposition level, i.e. both the soundbite- and metacoverage data sets for each election, as well as the merged (internationally comparative) data sets containing all countries (but separated for soundbites and metacoverage)
  - Logbooks: Contains all logbooks (overview of the TV newscast story contents)
  - Original: All original data sets used to construct the individual, merged and aggregated data sets

- **LaTeX**
  - Contains the complete LaTeX source code (for the dissertation at hand)
  - All graphs used in the text itself can also be found here (in addition to the "Analysis" folder) as separate PDF documents

- **Notes and Theory Figures**
  - Contains theory figures and a few documents with text sketches
  - Mainly figures for: Design of analysis, explanation of QCA theory (set relations, etc.)

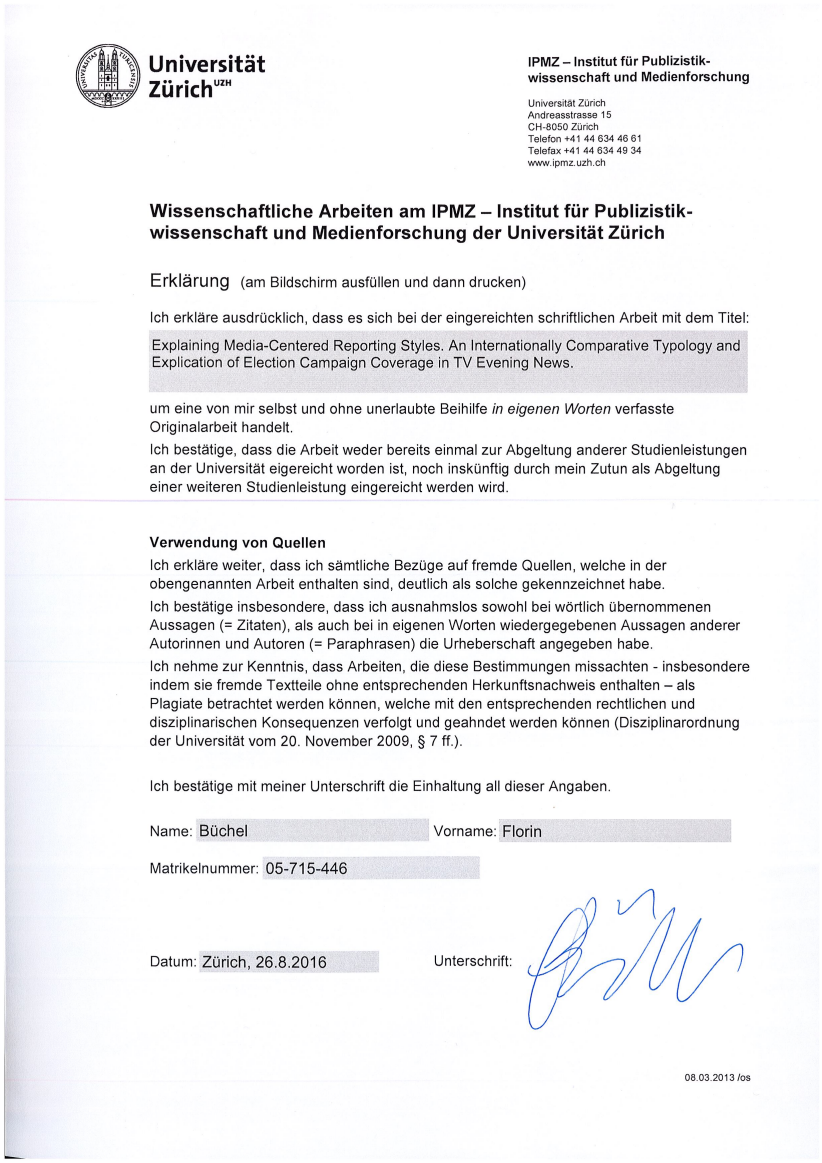
- **Orga**
  - Contains organizational matters for the dissertation, especially the so-called "Doktoratsvereinbarung"

- **Papers and Presentations**
  - Contains papers and presentations using these analyses
  - Mainly: Presentations held at defense, PhD colloquia, "IPMZ Forschungskolloquium", Final NCCR Democracy Conference (June 2017)

[118] Note: There are two methodological ways to aggregate the data, summing up all occurrences ("N") as well as using averages ("Mean"). Furthermore, there is a data set aggregated on a lower level, called "timelevel". This is not used in the eventual analysis, but nevertheless mentioned here: It is a dataset dividing the cases by the last week of the election campaign vs. the other time period (by TV channel).

Appendix E

Affidavit



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Erklärung (am Bildschirm ausfüllen und dann drucken)

Ich erkläre ausdrücklich, dass es sich bei der eingereichten schriftlichen Arbeit mit dem Titel:

Explaining Media-Centered Reporting Styles. An Internationally Comparative Typology and Explication of Election Campaign Coverage in TV Evening News.

um eine von mir selbst und ohne unerlaubte Beihilfe *in eigenen Worten* verfasste Originalarbeit handelt.

Ich bestätige, dass die Arbeit weder bereits einmal zur Abgeltung anderer Studienleistungen an der Universität eigereicht worden ist, noch inskünftig durch mein Zutun als Abgeltung einer weiteren Studienleistung eingereicht werden wird.

Verwendung von Quellen

Ich erkläre weiter, dass ich sämtliche Bezüge auf fremde Quellen, welche in der obengenannten Arbeit enthalten sind, deutlich als solche gekennzeichnet habe.

Ich bestätige insbesondere, dass ich ausnahmslos sowohl bei wörtlich übernommenen Aussagen (= Zitaten), als auch bei in eigenen Worten wiedergegebenen Aussagen anderer Autorinnen und Autoren (= Paraphrasen) die Urheberschaft angegeben habe.

Ich nehme zur Kenntnis, dass Arbeiten, die diese Bestimmungen missachten - insbesondere indem sie fremde Textteile ohne entsprechenden Herkunftsnachweis enthalten – als Plagiate betrachtet werden können, welche mit den entsprechenden rechtlichen und disziplinarischen Konsequenzen verfolgt und geahndet werden können (Disziplinarordnung der Universität vom 20. November 2009, § 7 ff.).

Ich bestätige mit meiner Unterschrift die Einhaltung all dieser Angaben.

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08.03.2013 /os

Figure E.1: Affidavit